FEDERATION OF CATHOLIC SOCIETIES
IN THE UNITED STATES
1870-1920

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PREFACE

For thirty years after 1870 there was in the United States a slow, steady movement towards a federation of the Catholic societies which reached its culmination in the formation of the American Federation of Catholic Societies in 1901. It is with this federation movement that this dissertation is concerned. In this dissertation the term federation as applied to the movement means a loose union of individual organizations joined for greater unity and strength, each retaining its autonomy and individuality. The term relates, also, to local and diocesan federations, as well as to the national organization.

While the history of many of the societies which antedated the federation movement has not yet been written, there is sufficient information about those which played an important part in the movement to make the beginning quite clear. Bigotry from without, insecurity from within stemming from economic uncertainty, the need for wider charitable organizations and other reasons prompted Catholics to unite into societies very early in the history of the country. But before 1870, and for some time afterward, there was little cooperation among these individual organizations.

The stimulus for societies to expand beyond local environments came from the situation in Rome after the fall of the Eternal City in 1870. His Holiness, Pope Pius IX, encouraged the formation of Catholic Unions among the faithful, and some Catholics of the United States became interested in the proposal. From 1870 until 1901, Catholics explored three types of unity: the union, the congress and the federation. Each of these had an influence on the federation movement before the formation of the National Federation in 1901.

A number of issues were of interest to the Catholic minority during the half century before 1920, among them bigotry, the Catholic Indian school situation, the temporal power of the Pope, the various controversies over Catholic education, "Cahenslyism," "Americanism," Modernism, imperialism and many others. The theological aspects of these matters were handled by the hierarchy and their clergy, but the features touching the general public were of interest to the whole Catholic body.

Post Civil War America was the scene of business consolidations, struggles for social justice, tariff controversies, gold and silver disputes, imperialism, rising socialism, increased immigration and reform movements. The general history of the period has been capably handled in such books as Allan Nevins' Emergence of Modern America, Arthur Schlesinger, Sr.'s, Rise of the City, Henry Pringle's Life and Times of William Howard Taft and Theodore Roosevelt, Richard Hofstadter's American Political Tradition and the Men Who Made It and Age of Reform, Arthur Link's Road to the White House and The New Freedom, to mention only a few. These sources will be cited only when specific data have been used.

Recent books mentioning some phases of the federation movement include Robert Cross's Emergence of Liberal Catholicism, Aaron I. Abell's American Catholicism and Social Action and Marc Karson's American Labor Unions and Politics. Some new evidence has been uncovered since the publications of these books which will undoubtedly reveal some points of difference between this dissertation and the other authors' conclusions. Michael Williams' work on the National Catholic War Council, American Catholics in the War, is adequate in the light of the evidence available to him, but no doubt new conclusions will be drawn when the remaining papers are made accessible. Through the kindness of Monsignor Paul Tanner, General Secretary, National Catholic Welfare Conference, the present writer was granted permission to use a limited number of documents pertaining to the National Catholic War Council. Most of the material used for compiling this present account of the Federation of Catholic Societies in the United States is primary, and much of it has not been used in these Catholic histories.

A search of more than two years has enabled the author to uncover all the Proceedings and Constitutions and most of the Bulletins and Weekly Newsletters of the American Federation of Catholic Societies, all now on microfilm at the University of Notre Dame Archives. The quest for the Proceedings of affiliated societies and the Constitutions of the Catholic Unions, while rewarding, was not quite so complete, but sufficient has been found to see their relation with the Federation. The Proceedings of the Knights of St. John for 1895 to 1900, in the office of the National Secretary in Evansville, Indiana, were not made available. Because of Bishop McFaul's interest in the Federation, one might assume that some letters relating to the organization were destroyed in the disastrous Chancery fire in Trenton in March, 1956.

Materials in the Archives of the Archdioceses of Boston, St. Paul and Cincinnati proved very revealing; but those of New York, Baltimore and Indianapolis, while helpful, were lacking comparable relevance. Primary sources relating to the American Federation of Catholic Societies found in the Central Bureau in St. Louis were invaluable, and the library there is rich in periodicals not always found in many places. In the University of Notre Dame Archives there is the most complete collection of information for the whole period, ranging from the Clarke correspondence of 1871 and the Constitutions of the Catholic Unions through letters and source materials covering the Congresses and the American Federation of Catholic Societies. Second only to Notre Dame is the deposit of information in the American Catholic Historical Society Archives in Philadelphia whose collection of Catholic newspapers and Proceedings of Catholic organizations is not duplicated anywhere else. Catholic University holds its share of the wealth in the Diary of Bishop Muldoon of Rockford, the correspondence and papers of the Rectors of the University and the papers of the National Catholic War Council.

Not too helpful as sources of information for the federation movement are the histories of the various dioceses. With the exception of the three volume work on Boston by Robert Lord, John E. Sexton and Edward Harrington; the two volume study of Brooklyn by John Sharp, Roger Baudier's single volume on Louisiana and James Reardon's on St. Paul, most of these histories are commemorative publications and hence of little value for specific details about the federation movement. Likewise, the few studies of the various societies which affiliated with the union are of limited relevance to this dissertation with the exception of J. Philip Gleason's on the Central

Verein and Sister Joan Marie Donohoe's on the Irish Catholic Benevolent Union. For the Congresses the only really worthwhile study is Sister Sevina Pahorezki's life of William Onahan.

The lengthy search for pertinent data has placed the author in the debt of a host of generous persons from coast to coast. To those who invited her to their Archives and gave generously of their time she is indeed grateful: Most Rev. Egidio Vagnozzi, D.D., Apostolic Delegate and Very Rev. Msgr. Thomas R. Gallagher, O. P., his secretary; Rt. Rev. Msgr. Jeremiah J. Brennan of St. Joseph Seminary, Dunwoodie, New York; Very Rev. Msgr. Donald J. Masterson, Vice-Chancellor of Chicago, and Very Rev. Msgr. Edward Roche and Rev. George Dyer of St. Mary of the Lake Seminary, Mundelein, Illinois; Rev. Joseph Gallagher of the Baltimore Cathedral; Rev. Patrick Ahern of St. Paul Seminary, St. Paul, Minnesota; Rt. Rev. Msgr. Victor I. Suren and the staff of the Central Bureau, St. Louis, Missouri; Rev. Robert Trisco of the Catholic University of America Archives; Rev. Edward R. Vollmar, S. J., of Pius XII Library, St. Louis University; Very Rev. Robert Yates, Chancellor of Toledo, Ohio; Very Rev. Msgr. Cornelius B. Sweeney, Chancellor, and Rev. Robert Gorman, Archivist, of Indianapolis, Indiana; Rt. Rev. Msgr. Henry J. Vogelpohl, Chancellor, and Rev. John Sauter, acting Archivist, of Cincinnati, Ohio; Rev. Bartholomew Fair, Mr. Joseph Monahan and Mr. James McCoy of the American Catholic Historical Society, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; Rt. Rev. Msgr. Francis J. Sexton, Vice-Chancellor of Boston, Massachusetts, and his assistant, Mrs. Helen Murphy.

She is also grateful for the patient assistance given by the members of the staffs of the Library of Congress, both general circulation and manuscript divisions, Catholic University Library, Enoch Pratt Free Library in Baltimore, New York Public Library, both general circulation and manuscript divisions, National Archives, Boston Public Library, Pius XII Library in St. Louis, and the Widener Library at Harvard University. Personal correspondence with the reference librarians of Quincy Public Library (Illinois), Chicago Historical Society, Rochester Historical Society (New York), Brooklyn Public Library (New York), Ohio State University Library, and the Long Island Historical Society (New York) proved most rewarding.

Gratitude is owed those who sent information and prevented, therefore, additional trips, either because there was no information in the depositories or because the holdings were meagre. These include Richard and Francis Matre and Charles I. Denechaud, Jr., who lent their fathers' personal papers; Most Rev. Leo A. Pursley, D.D., Bishop of Fort Wayne-South Bend; Most Rev. Alden J. Bell, D.D., Chancellor and Auxiliary Bishop of Los Angeles; Rt. Rev. Msgr. Joseph Crowley, Editor of Our Sunday Visitor; Dr. Francis Broderick, Exeter, New Hampshire; Rt. Rev. Msgr. Vincent M. Leonard, Vicar-General-Chancellor, and Rev. Francis A. Glenn of Pittsburgh; Rev. William A. Dehler, S.J., of Loyola University, Chicago; Rev. Robert Kearns, S.J., of the University of Detroit, Michigan; Very Rev. Msgr. Joseph Michalski, Vice-Chancellor, and Rev. Peter Rahill of St. Louis; Rev. Joseph D. Sommes of Vincennes, Indiana; Rt. Rev. Msgr.

Chester Ropella, Chancellor of Green Bay, Wisconsin; Very Rev. Msgr. George Schorr, Vice-Chancellor of Columbus, Ohio; Rt. Rev. Msgr. Edward J. Seward, Chancellor of Cleveland, Ohio; Rt. Rev. Msgr. Louis J. Franey, Vicar-General of Rockford, Illinois; Sister Mary Magdalen of the Resurrection, Carmel, Oakland, California; Joseph J. Lamb, Supreme Secretary, Knights of Columbus, Hartford, Connecticut; J. Louis Meyer of J. P. Kenedy & Sons, New York; Most Rev. James J. Hogan, Chancellor and Auxiliary Bishop of Trenton, New Jersey; Rt. Rev. Msgr. Richard P. Walsh of Cleveland, Ohio; Helene Minahan, Seattle, Washington; Clarence J. Schu, Supreme Secretary, Knights of St. John, Evansville, Indiana; Rev. Isidore Paulus, Cleveland, Ohio; Sister Mary Harrita Fox, B. V. M., Mundelein College, Chicago; Rt. Rev. Msgr. Anthony Kleinschmidt, Pontifical College Josephinum, Columbus, Ohio; Rev. Robert McNamara, acting Archivist, St. Bernard Seminary, Rochester, New York; Rev. John J. Margraf, C. S. C., South Bend, Indiana; Rt. Rev. Msgr. Joseph H. Brady, Rector, Immaculate Conception Seminary, Darlington, New Jersey; Rev. Benjamin J. Blied, Fond du Lac, Michigan; The Leo House, New York City; Sister Mary Ramona, S. C. N., Nazareth, Kentucky; Rev. Thurston Davis, S. J., of *America*, New York City; Rev. R. F. Coffey, Dominican House of Studies, Washington, D. C.; Rt. Rev. Msgr. Felix Pitt, Louisville, Kentucky; Rev. Edwin Bauer, C. S. C., South Bend, Indiana; Mother Celeste Marie, C. D. P., Melbourne, Kentucky; John Vigle, University of Dayton, Ohio; Rt. Rev. Msgr. Arthur J. Riley, Quincy, Massachusetts;

Frank B. Wensing, Supreme President, Western Catholic Union, Quincy, Illinois; Rt. Rev. Msgr. Paul F. Tanner, General Secretary, National Catholic Welfare Conference, Washington, D. C.; Rev. Vincent F. Holden, C. S. P., Paulist Fathers' Archivist, Oak Ridge, New Jersey; the Franciscan Fathers at the Monastery in Washington, D. C. Perhaps even those few who did not reply to the inquiries likewise assisted the study, if only in a negative way.

There are two groups of people without whom this dissertation would never have reached this stage: the staffs of the Department of History, the Archives and the library of the University of Notre Dame, and the members of the author's religious Congregation. Of the former special mention must be given to Reverend Thomas T. McAvoy, C. S. C., Archivist and Professor of History, and director of this dissertation, who even while in Europe on important research, followed the work step by step with unending patience and understanding. Frequent help came from Dr. Aaron I. Abell, Professor, and Dr. J. Philip Gleason, Assistant Professor, in the Department of History. Father McAvoy's staff, Miss Mercedes Muenz and Mrs. Vincent Modica, were untiring in their aid as were three members of the library staff, Misses Joyce Bradley, Barbara Minehan and Eileen Conley, especially in locating through inter-library loans many obscure books and magazines needed for this study. Mr. George Wack, formerly of the Department of Modern Languages, was quite helpful in checking German translations.

Finally, the author extends deepest gratitude to Reverend Mother Agnes, O. S. F., and the whole family of Third Order Franciscans, who sustained her efforts when the outlook was far from promising, and who released her from other Community works in order to permit her to devote her entire energies to this project. Without them and the loyal relatives and friends the history of the Federation of Catholic Societies in the United States might have lain dormant until all the evidence had been destroyed by time or human agent.

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KEY TO ABBREVIATIONS

ARCHIVES

AAB	Archdiocese of Baltimore
AABo	Archdiocese of Boston
AAC	Archdiocese of Cincinnati
AACh	Archdiocese of Chicago
AACHS	American Catholic Historical Society
AAD	Apostolic Delegation
AAI	Archdiocese of Indianapolis
AANO	Archdiocese of New Orleans - at AUND
AANY	Archdiocese of New York
AASP	Archdiocese of St. Paul
ACB	Central Bureau, St. Louis, Missouri
ACUA	Catholic University of America
ADR	Diocese of Richmond - on microfilm at ACUA and AUND In this dissertation the film of AUND was used and is indicated in the footnotes as ADR (AUND).
ADT	Diocese of Toledo
AHU	Harvard University
AUND	University of Notre Dame
MD	Manuscript Division, Library of Congress
NA	National Archives
NYPL	Manuscript Room, New York Public Library

NEWSPAPERS

Bulletin	*The Bulletin of the American Federation of Catholic Societies* (Cincinnati, St. Louis, Milwaukee, Quincy, Hot Springs)
CC	*The Catholic Citizen* (St. Paul)

TCC-R	*The Catholic Columbian and Record* (Indianapolis and Columbus, Ohio)
TCN	***The Catholic News*** (New York)
MC	*Michigan Catholic*
NYFJ	*New York Freeman's Journal and Catholic Register*
NWC	*The Northwestern Chronicle* (Milwaukee and St. Paul)
PC	*The Pittsburgh Catholic*
Review	*The Review* (Chicago and St. Louis)
SHR	*Sacred Heart Review* (Boston)
TR	*The Toledo Record*

PERIODICALS

ACHS Researches	*American Catholic Historical Society Researches*
ACQR	*American Catholic Quarterly Review*
AER	*American Ecclesiastical Review*
CBSJ	*Central Blatt and Social Justice*
CFR	*Catholic Fortnightly Review*
CHR	*Catholic Historical Review*
CUB	*Catholic University Bulletin*
CW	*The Catholic World*
HRS	*Historical Researches and Studies*
NCFR	*National Civic Federation Review*
RACHS	*Records of the American Catholic Historical Society*
RP	*Review of Politics*
SJR	*Social Justice Review*

ORGANIZATIONS

AFCS	American Federation of Catholic Societies
AFL	American Federation of Labor
AOH	Ancient Order of Hibernians
APA	American Protective Association
CKA	Catholic Knights of America
CPA	Catholic Press Association
COF	Catholic Order of Foresters
CTAU	Catholic Total Abstinence Union
CV	Central Verein (German Roman Catholic Union)
CYMNU	Catholic Young Men's National Union
GV	*General Versammlungen des Deutschen Romisch-Katholischen Central Vereins.* *Proceedings* of the CV which will be cited, for example: 47 *GV*, 1902.
ICBU	Irish Catholic Benevolent Union
ICTS	International Catholic Truth Society
KC	Knights of Columbus
K of SJ	Knights of St. John
NCF	National Civic Federation
NCWC	National Catholic War Council
NCCM	National Council of Catholic Men
NCCW	National Council of Catholic Women
SSC	Social Service Commission
YMCA	Young Men's Christian Association
YWCA	Young Women's Christian Association

CHAPTER I

CATHOLIC UNIONS AND THE FEDERATION MOVEMENT

To achieve some solidarity and to meet some of their social and economic needs, American Catholics had early formed Catholic societies. And for a little more than fifty years after the Civil War, American Catholics attempted to achieve even greater unity by forming, under one name or another, a federation of these Catholic societies.

One of the earliest societies, and the oldest Catholic Charitable organization, in the country was the St. Vincent de Paul Society whose first conference was formed in St. Louis in 1845 for the greater glory of God and the santification of the members' souls by helping the poor. The idea of working with the indigent spread quickly because the St. Vincent de Paul Society had for its chief temporal work the mitigation of the sufferings of the poor.[1]

Another type of society common among Catholics in the United States was the fraternal or benevolent organization which provided sick and death benefits as well as some aid for the widows and orphans. The oldest of these in the country was the Ancient Order of Hibernians which had been introduced from Ireland as the St. Patrick's Funeral Benefit Society in 1836 and had been chartered within the same year. Irish birth or extraction was the only qualification needed for membership, but that very lack of distinction caused a split in the society in 1857 when Michael Doheny of the AOH and a few others revived the Fenian Brotherhood which was fanatically dedicated to the freedom of Ireland. The Ancient Order was to be still further divided in 1878 over a constitutional matter requiring the holding of its conventions in New York City only.[2]

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[1] Daniel T. McColgan, A Century of Charity. 2 vols. (Milwaukee, 1951), I, Chapter III.

Several German mutual benefit societies had been developing in the United States since the late 1830's, and in April, 1855, about a third of these met in Baltimore and formed the German Roman Catholic Central Society, known as the Central Verein. The societies affiliated in the Central Verein became members of a federation of local German Catholic mutual aid societies. Later, however, the Central Verein expanded to include other matters affecting the German population of the United States.[3]

Another "fraternal," called the Irish Catholic Benevolent Union, placed more emphasis upon Catholicism than upon nationality when accepting members. Many local benevolent societies joined together in 1869 to form the ICBU which continued to expand more smoothly than the Ancient Order.[4] In fact, the state Unions of Ohio and Indiana merged in 1872, and the London Tablet for August 24, 1872, praised the ICBU for establishing a precedent for gaining greater strength by uniting state Unions.

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[2] John O'Dea, History of the Ancient Order of Hibernians and Ladies' Auxiliary, 3 vols. (Philadelphia, 1923), II, Chapters XII-XLVI.

[3] J. Philip Gleason, "The Central-Verein, 1900-1917: A Chapter in the History of German-American Catholics," (Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Notre Dame, 1960), pp. 8ff. Hereafter cited as Gleason, "Central-Verein."

Most of the benevolent societies were local organizations, some even parish groups. In addition to fraternal societies there were many parish societies, confraternities and associations such as the Peter's Pence, Rosary, Sacred Heart of Mary and Scapular Confraternities and the Sodality of Our Lady. Altogether, at the time of the meeting of the Second Plenary Council in 1866 thousands of Catholic societies were already functioning successfully; but few were more than local in scope, and their relations with each other were usually cordial and no more.

These societies aided Catholics to cope in some degree with the conditions subsequent to the Civil War, whose heritage included the problem of the reconstruction of the South, the placement of and provision for the newly freed slaves, and the economic readjustment relative to inflated money and a high tariff. The poor, especially, were caught in the struggle between high prices and low wages; and as business consolidation increased, the poor laborer had no strong organization to help him find the means to better his position. Many of the poor were Catholics; many, immigrants or first or second generation descendants of immigrants, especially Irish or German; and many of them were Catholics.

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[4] Sister Joan Marie Donohoe, S.N.D., The Irish Catholic Benevolent Union (Washington, 1953), Chapter I and passim.

The benevolent societies in particular gave these people a slight feeling of stability in offering sick and death benefits.

A second reason for the increased number of Catholic societies lay in the memories of Nativist or "Know-Nothing" bigotry as displayed in the riots in the Kensington district of Philadelphia in 1844, or the violence against Catholics in Boston, New York, Louisville and St. Louis in 1854. Catholics belonging to societies were conscious of the security to be achieved by numerical strength. But the Civil War had not ended bigotry, even though the new riders, the Ku Klux Klan, at first intended to terrorize only Negroes.[5]

Another reason for the formation of new Catholic societies was the existence of secret societies, the bane of the hierarchy in the nineteenth century, especially the type of society that plotted against the Church and legitimate authority. Freemasonry had been explicitly forbidden to Catholics by Pope Clement XII in 1738 under pain of excommunication. But for other societies the American hierarchy had not agreed on the criteria which made them either forbidden or condemned.[6] Article XII of the Second Plenary Council of Baltimore dealt with secret societies, the Freemasons, Odd Fellows and Sons of Temperance being especially mentioned.[7] An earlier Provincial Council of Baltimore had included labor unions among secret societies, especially those whose meetings led to excessive drinking.[8]

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[5] Gustavus Myers, History of Bigotry in the United States (New York, 1943), Chapters XVI-XX. Hereafter cited as Myers, Bigotry.

[6] Fergus MacDonald, C.P., The Catholic Church and the Secret Societies in the United States (New York, 1946), p. 68n and passim.

[7] Peter Guilday, A History of the Councils of Baltimore (New York, 1932), p. 213.

Catholics belonging to friendly societies were happy to read in the Pastoral issued in 1866 after the Second Plenary Council of Baltimore an approval of the Catholic societies. In the letter the hierarchy said, "We have noticed with the most sincere satisfaction and gratitude to God, the great increase among us of Societies and Associations...conducted in strict accordance with the principles of the Catholic Religion, and with an immediate view to their own santification."[9]

Four years after the Second Plenary Council, the hierarchy of the whole Catholic Church met in Rome for the Vatican Council. This meeting was disrupted by the threat of an invasion of Rome by the forces of Italian unification, and the Vatican was still further endangered when Napoleon III removed his troops from Rome to use them against the Prussians during the Franco-Prussian War of 1870.

After the French left Rome on August 5, 1870, and until March, 1871, little was heard directly from Pope Pius IX. According to the New York Freeman's Journal of November 12, 1870, everywhere prayers were offered for the safety of the Sovereign Pontiff and of his property. In the same edition of the Journal, the editor, James McMaster, went beyond the suggestion that prayers be offered. He proposed that Catholics unite in rallies to pray, and in this way permit prominent Catholics to become acquainted with each other. He suggested this because fear of bigotry was ingrained in American Catholics to the extent that they often hid their religious affiliations from the public.

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[8] Ibid., p. 125. This was the Fourth Provincial Council.

[9] Peter Guilday, ed. The National Pastorals of the American Hierarchy (1792-1919) (Washington, 1923), p. 220. Hereafter cited as National Pastorals.

McMaster's proposal appealed to one reader, Charles Atwater, who wrote a "Letter to the Editor" on November 19, 1870, advising Catholics to go further and enter into "some organization of a national character, whereby Catholics of all states might organize for the purpose of association and the general good." The editor reiterated, however, that he had nothing so big in mind, and there the matter seemed to rest.

However, the seeds of an idea had been planted. And when in March, 1871, the Holy Father made his first public statement to the Belgian Catholic Union, commending the Union and its activities, interest in Catholic Unions grew in many parts of the world. The Belgian Catholic Union was a national organization comprised of societies, associations and individuals joined to pray, to discuss social needs and to promote pilgrimages to famous shrines. The Union was on a pilgrimage to Rome when the Pontiff delivered his accolade to it.[10]

Pius' commendation was published and Catholic Unions were taken up in other lands.[11] The Duke of Norfolk arranged a pilgrimage to Rome in May, 1871, for the Catholic Union of Great Britain[12] where it received encouragement from the Holy Father. This time he was more emphatic, saying, "I exhort you to unite yourselves to others and to walk with them against the common enemies of religion and the Church."[13]

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[10] Père de Pasquale de Franciscis, comp. Discours de N.T Saint-Père le Pape Pie IX, Tome Premier. (Rome, 1873), 41.

The widespread publication of the Pope's latest exhortation attracted the attention of American Catholics, and the notion of a Catholic Union in the United States began occupying their minds. On May 13, 1871, the Freeman's Journal quoted the Holy Father's admonition, "Be united to your Bishops, and let your Bishops be united to all Catholic people who hold the faith in a pure conscience." And with the approval of Archbishop John McCloskey, a group of New York Catholic laymen began to formulate a constitution for a Catholic Union.

These men had little to guide them except a series of articles which appeared in the Tablet during June, 1871. The articles pointed out that Unions might be formed on the basis of societies, associations or individuals, but that the society formed the best foundation for a successful Catholic Union. Furthermore, the Tablet indicated that no action should be taken by a Union without the guidance and permission of the bishops, and that no partisan politics should be included in its activities.

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[11] NYFJ, May 13, 1871.

[12] Tablet, March 11, 1871.

[13] Pasquale, op. cit., p. 71; NYFJ, May 13, 1871; Ave Maria, VII (May 20, 1871), 340-341.

Accordingly, when Richard Clarke, a New York lawyer, and his group of assistants produced a *General Constitution* for a Catholic Union on June 16, 1871, they stated that a "Catholic Union...is hereby proposed, to consist of a number of associations each contemplating a field of action co-extensive with the *diocese* in which the local Ordinary may see fit to encourage the establishment of a branch." Article II of the *Constitution* provided that the Branch Associations or Circles would "Have power to unite by way of aggregation or otherwise...with similar organizations in different parts of the world." Each Circle was to be autonomous, but it was recommended by Article V that there be "at least an Executive Committee, a Treasurer and two Secretaries" and a Council which would appoint its Chairman at each meeting.

Article VI indicated the proposed federative plan of the Catholic Unions. "The Councils of Circles adhering to this General Constitution may associate in joint council on the occasion of a General Assembly." "The place of meeting on the first occasion to be agreed upon amicably by correspondence."[14] Whether this was to be a local General Assembly for a particular diocese, or a larger meeting of several dioceses was not clarified in the *Constitution*.

However, according to the Clarke correspondence, the lawyer must have sent copies of the *Constitution* in the fall of 1871 to members of the hierarchy asking them to inaugurate Circles of the Union in their dioceses and then to federate these into a national Catholic Union with headquarters in New York. An extensive search has uncovered only three of the responses to this appeal. Bishop Stephan Ryan of Buffalo seemed pleased with the idea and promised "to cooperate with" Clarke and hoped in "a short time to have a branch association in Buffalo."[15] From Boston came the same assurance from Archbishop John Williams[16] whose Union was formed shortly afterward. But Archbishop Martin Spalding of Baltimore "delayed to answer" in order "to take some time to reflect and consult." After reflecting and consulting, the Prelate doubted "whether a Union would really promote the end intended.../and/ whether it would not be too unwieldy to work well."[17]

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[14] *General Constitution of the Catholic Union together with the Constitution & By-Laws of Circle No. 1, of New Jersey*. Photostat at AUND. The original is in New York Public Library.

Circle Number 1, Catholic Union of New Jersey, adopted the elements of the General Constitution but enlarged upon it somewhat. The New Jersey Union incorporated the objects of the Union into its own Constitution: "to meet, consult and act in defense of Catholic interests; to maintain a spirit of devotion to the Holy Father; and to unite in unceasing efforts for his deliverance from the hands of his enemies, and for his speedy restoration to the plenitude of his sovereign rights."

Membership in the Union according to the Constitution was open to any "Catholic devoted to the principles and objects" of the Union, and anyone "desirous of becoming a Member of this

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[15] Ryan to Clarke, Buffalo, November 17, 1871, Clarke, AUND.
[16] Williams to Clarke, Boston, October 14, 1871, Clarke, AUND.
[17] Spalding to Clarke, Baltimore, November 28, 1871, Clarke, AUND.

Union, may be admitted as such, on the payment of one dollar, and the annual fee of such Member" would remain one dollar, "payable every first day of October." Such members received all the benefits of the Union: "such general public assemblies, Masses and lectures as the Council may provide for the entire Circle, and such as the Parochial Committees may provide in the Parishes in which such Members belong, and to a full participation in the prayers of the Union."

The officers of the Union included a President, two Vice-Presidents, a Recording and a Corresponding Secretary and a Treasurer. These officers constituted an Executive Committee. In addition to the individual members listed above, the Union admitted parochial committees and sections, and Catholic societies or associations whose individual presidents and secretaries became ex-officio members of the Council so long as they continued to be officers in their own organizations.

The By-Laws of the New Jersey Catholic Union set the time for an annual meeting held for the election of officers, regular monthly meetings, and special meetings. They also indicated that the Executive Meetings should be held weekly. The order of business listed: opening prayer, spiritual reading, roll call, minutes of any meetings since the last regular meeting, summary of minutes of the Executive Committee, treasurer's report, recommendations of the Executive Committee, reports of Special Committees, letters and communications, defaults declared by recording secretary and treasurer, vacancies to be filled, unfinished and miscellaneous business and closing prayer.

Between meetings, permanent studies were conducted by the New Jersey Council. The first included questions relating to the Holy See, to the temporal power of the Sovereign Pontiff, and to the necessities of the Holy Father. A second embraced the circulation of cheap, but sound, Catholic literature. The next entitled "On Catholic Protection" included the means to protect the Catholic working masses "from being induced to join or remain members of prohibited or dangerous societies;" to help working children "whose occupations or wandering lives [exposed] them to the loss of their faith or to poverty, crime and disgrace, and the proper administration of spiritual consolation to all Catholics confined in the public hospitals or in jails, prisons, and other public places of confinement within Hudson County," New Jersey. Two other studies provided for the intellectual improvement, protection, advice and encouragement of the members, and for the support, protection and encouragement of Catholic education. The final study hints that the organization was intended to be a lay group: "Embracing the consideration of measures for cooperating with the Rev. Clergy in developing, improving and encouraging the study of Sacred Music and the chant of the Church."

Both the General Constitution and the Constitution for Circle Number 1 of New Jersey recommended that in religious matters the members should consult spiritual advisers who should be attached to each Council. The Constitutions bore the approbation of Bishop

Michael Corrigan, Administrator of the Diocese of Newark, and the blessing of the Holy Father, imparted through G. Cardinal Antonelli on January 1, 1873.[18]

Clarke's correspondence does not indicate to what extent other local Unions were influenced, but Circles were formed outside of New York in New Orleans,[19] St. Paul,[20] Grand Rapids,[21] Jersey City,[22] Boston,[23] and elsewhere. By September, 1874, the editor of Ave Maria addressed an article to all its readers "particularly of the various sections of the Catholic Union in this country."[24] The use of the word "sections" indicates that the national federation begun by Clarke had been adopted to some extent.

The movement apparently aroused interest among important Catholics. Orestes Brownson, the convert publicist, wrote to Father Isaac Hecker, Superior General of the Paulist Fathers, asking the priest's opinion of the Catholic Union. The response is very informative:

> You ask my opinion about the Catholic Union? (sic) It is this, that within the period of my knowledge there

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[18] Constitution of the Catholic Union, op. cit.

[19] Franché to Perché, Rome, April 18, 1874, Perché, AUND.

[20] NWC, December 11, 1872; James Reardon, The Catholic Church in the Diocese of St. Paul (St. Paul, 1952), p. 182.

[21] NYFJ, December 9, 1874.

[22] Ibid., January 18, 1873; Joseph Flynn, The Catholic Church in New Jersey (Morristown, N.J., 1904), p. 420; Constitution, photostat, AUND.

[23] Robert H. Lord, John E. Sexton, Richard Harrington, History of the Archdiocese of Boston in the Various Stages of its Development, 3 vols. (New York, 1944), III, 389. Hereafter cited as Lord, Boston. Constitution and other MSS in AABo.

[24] X (September 19, 1874), 601-602.

> has been no movement promising to be so great an importance as it does. There is a large body of men connected with it who mean work. Among their first efforts will be that of starting a Daily Newspaper. Other important subjects are before it, such as a University, Catholic Congress, etc. I confess confidence in the movement.[25]

While the Catholic Unions were forming within certain dioceses, other Catholic societies were expanding beyond diocesan lines. The nationalizing fever of the times impelled the Catholic Total Abstinence Unions on local and state levels to unite into a national organization in 1872.[26] And a first step in inter-organizational cooperation was made in the same year when the Irish Catholic Benevolent Union exchanged items on immigrant care with the German Catholic Central Society. Three years later the same two groups worked out a system whereby each organization would honor the traveling cards of the other, and by 1877 the two societies were sending delegates to the other's convention.[27]

The Central Verein and the Irish Catholic Benevolent Union had many features in common which enabled them to agree to the transfer of courtesies. Both were interested in benefits for the members and in the care of immigrants. Eventually both undertook the handling of insurance with varying degrees of success. In structure the two organizations differed in that the ICBU was a union of state organizations whereas the Verein was a federation of local members. Another difference was found in their political activities. ICBU had more of its members elected to public office, but the Germans were not silent if political action were needed to right a wrong.

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[25] New York, January 8, 1872, Orestes Brownson, AUND.

[26] Sister Joan Bland, S.N.D., Hibernian Crusade (Washington, 1951), p. 59.

[27] J. Philip Gleason, "Not German or Irish so much as Catholic," SJR, LI (March, 1959), 384-385.

But cooperation between two national organizations was still a great distance from total federation among all societies. The National Catholic Union apparently had achieved a measure of success by 1875, for in that year the New York Circle sent a circular letter to the presidents of all local Unions asking for financial contributions to aid Germans suffering as a result of the Kulturkampf. Cardinal McCloskey approved the letter and promised to supervise the collection of funds.[28] It seems, then, that the National Union had been successfully formed with New York as the national headquarters.

Unfortunately, the thread of the story of the Catholic Unions is obscured by the ambiguous manner in which the word "union" was used. For example, there was some interchanging of Catholic Union with the Catholic Young Men's Union which was a particular organization in New York for the interest of young Catholic men. Another allusion identified the Catholic Union with the Xavier Union, a sodality limited to members of the alumni of Xavier College in New York.[29]

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[28] AANY, photostat in writer's possession. This circular was unsigned. McCloskey had received the red hat in 1875.

[29] NYFJ, March 29, 1873 and passim.

As a medium of formulating a Catholic opinion on current questions, the Catholic Unions seemed to function satisfactorily. They kept up a lively interest in their chief purpose, fealty to the Pope and objections to the seizure of Rome by the Piedmontese "bandits." Likewise, the Unions set about to correct any impression that the laymen were at odds with the clergy. And among the member societies there were a number of literary circles organized to study current problems.[30]

However, by 1878 news items about the Catholic Unions had become rather scarce, and the first phase of their history had about run its course. But Catholics had become interested in some sort of unity whereby to extend their influence, and the society or association served as a foundation upon which to build. In 1878 the Catholic Young Men's National Union passed a resolution requesting the American hierarchy to use its influence in increasing the numerical strength and efficiency of the Catholic Young Men's National Union,[31] and within two years the young men had as president Bishop John J. Keane of Richmond.[32] Archbishop Patrick Feehan of Chicago and Bishop Francis Chatard of Indianapolis, were also interested in Catholic societies and their increase so that the Catholic laity might benefit by participation in the societies' activities.[33]

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[30] James A. White, "The Origins and Growth of the Catholic Summer School of America," (Unpublished master's dissertation, University of Notre Dame, 1948), pp. 5-6. Published in 1950 by the U.S.C.H.S. Monograph Series XXIV, edited by J.J. Meng, as The Founding of Cliff Haven.

[31] Ave Maria, XIV (June 8, 1878), 368.

[32] Patrick H. Ahern, The Life of John J. Keane, Educator and Archbishop, 1839-1918 (Milwaukee, 1954), pp. 314,334,693. Cf. Notre Dame Scholastic, September and October, 1878 and passim.

These Prelates were aware of the increasing numbers of immigrants reaching the United States each year. Many of the newcomers were Catholics, and larger numbers each year were coming from non-English countries such as Italy, Poland, France and the Scandinavian countries. Consequently, the immigrants had to adjust to new surroundings, often tenement sections of the larger cities, and learn a new language besides. Frequently Catholic immigrants found no priest to minister to their needs because of the language barrier. While it was true that many of the bishops and priests of the United States were foreign born or foreign trained, many of them were Irish and, therefore, English speaking.

Furthermore, the American clergy with their bishops were busily engaged in building churches and schools to meet the needs of an increased Catholic population and were often unable to assist the newly arrived immigrants in making an adjustment to the new land. Because of their unfamiliarity with the American business and factory system, the newcomers usually had to be satisfied with the meanest kind of work for which they were paid a mere pittance.

In the absence of a Catholic labor union, it was difficult for these unfortunate workers to receive justice since they had no spokesman. The Irish in particular had suffered in the labor market because of the activities of the Mollie Maguires in the anthracite coal regions of Pennsylvania, and the stigma of "secret society" was attached to the Ancient Order of Hibernians as a result of the Mollies' actions.[34] Because existing labor unions were termed "secret societies," Catholics were forbidden to join.

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[33] Francis S. Chatard, "Catholic Societies," ACQR, IV (April, 1879), 212-221; Cornelius J. Kirkfleet, O. Praem., The Life of Patrick Augustine Feehan, Bishop of Nashville, First Archbishop of Chicago, 1829-1902 (Chicago, 1922), p. 236.

In politics, too, the immigrants were treated badly. Boston, Philadelphia and New York, all ports of entry for immigrants, were "boss" ridden, and the uninformed immigrants were prey to vote-grabbing politicians. A particular extent to which political corruption touched the neophyte voters occurred in 1884 when the Republican party attempted by bribery and intimidation to win traditionally democratic votes from the Irish Catholics.[35]

Against this background Pope Leo XIII issued the decree calling the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore in 1884. Besides confirming the decrees of the Second Plenary Council of Baltimore and the Vatican Council, the councillors formulated an official Acta et Decreta for the Third Council divided into Tituli. Title VIII entitled "Zeal for Souls," treated specifically the care which was to be given to instruct immigrants in their own tongue. Priests were to be appointed to all large ports to care for the newcomers. The Article also included care for the Negro and the Indian, Catholic societies and secret societies, and Sunday observance.[36]

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[34] O'Dea, op. cit., III, XLIX.

[35] Arthur Schlesinger, The Rise of the City, 1878-1898, A History of American Life Series, eds. Arthur Schlesinger and Dixon Fox, X (New York, 1933), pp. 349ff. Hereafter cited as Schlesinger, Rise of the City.

At one of the public sessions of the Council, Bishop Keane delivered a sermon on Catholic societies. Beginning with those of a purely devotional nature, the Bishop passed quickly to societies next in dignity: "Those whose object [was] to cooperate with the clergy in spreading through the world the Gospel of Jesus Christ." After lauding the Catholic congresses of European countries, the Bishop spoke for the Young Men's Union, "If united with the clergy, and heartily in sympathy with their guidance, then their society draws its life directly from the channels of the Church's life, and will be a powerful means for making them intelligent, energetic and thoroughly practical Catholic men." Otherwise, he noted, they would be "a society of Catholics, not a Catholic society." Finally the Prelate described the social or beneficial societies as "a strong safeguard against the allurements of societies which conceal evil or dangerous designs under the attractive cloak of benevolence and mutual assistance." He warned against the lack of unity between priests and people in societies and cited the rift within the Ancient Order of Hibernians as a result of such disunity.[37]

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[36] Guilday, A History of the Councils of Baltimore, op. cit., Chapter XVII.

[37] The Memorial Volume: A History of the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore, November 9-December 7, 1884 (Baltimore, 1885), pp. 199-207.

After the Council had adjourned, Archbishop James Gibbons of Baltimore issued a Pastoral in the name of the hierarchy. Among the problems touching the social life of American Catholics the letter deplored the non-observance of the Lord's Day because Americans had adopted the European manner of "resting" by visits to taverns and saloons, dancing and a general disregard for the holiness of the Sabbath. Since some industries operated seven days a week, the Pastoral pointed out that the absence of a day of rest was creating seething unrest among workingmen who were being lured into a "counterfeit communion of Socialism." The solution, of course, was to refrain from work on Sunday and to assist piously at Mass and Vespers and to attend Sunday school. However, the Pastoral offered no method for the working man to use to impress upon his employer the need for a day of rest.

Once more reviewing the admonitions of the Second Plenary Council, the Pastoral warned against idleness in Catholic youth, especially those residing in the slum areas whose parents, through ignorance, failed to insist upon a fuller education of their children. To counteract this condition of insufficient education, the Third Council had insisted upon perfecting Catholic elementary education and promoting Catholic high schools so that Catholic children would be as well educated as any child attending the public schools.

Masonic and kindred societies were discussed in the Pastoral. It stated, "One characteristic which is always a strong presumption against a society...is secrecy," and "no Catholic can conscientiously join, or continue in, a body in which he knows that any of [the] condemned features exist." The letter added that any Catholic who had joined such an organization in good faith must resign as soon as he learned the true nature of the society.

For the Catholic organizations which were growing stronger each year, the Pastoral gave encouragement. "It is not enough for Catholics to shun bad or dangerous societies, they ought to take part in good and useful ones." And the letter listed the sodality, parish confraternities, Propagation of the Faith, Saint Vincent de Paul, temperance societies, Catholic Young Men's National Union, beneficial societies and those for the Catholic workingman "to guard the members against the dangerous attractions of condemned or suspicious organizations; and to secure the faithful practice of their religious duties, on which their temporal as well as their eternal welfare so largely" depended.

Finally, the Pastoral concluded, "With paternal affection we bestow our blessing upon all those various forms of combined Catholic action for useful and holy purposes." The multiplication of Catholic societies and associations was greatly desired, and the Pastoral pointed out that the success of such organizations depended upon their fidelity to the spirit of the Church. Hence, pastors and people should be united in good works.[38]

In speaking of the "various forms of combined Catholic action," the Pastoral was not specific. But it would seem that the Catholic Unions, where these still existed, would come under this type of approved activity. However, the emphasis upon the Catholic society is apparent in the Pastoral.

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[38] National Pastorals, pp. 256ff.

During the years that the Catholic Unions were slipping from public notice, numerous other Catholic societies were being formed, many of which played a leading role in the history of the federation movement. Among the insurance societies, the Catholic Knights of St. George, the Catholic Order of Foresters and the Knights of Columbus had formed before the Plenary Council met, and the Knights of St. John began shortly after the Council closed. The St. Raphael Society, organized for the aid of immigrants and Catholic travelers, had opened its doors in 1871; and an important devotional group, the Holy Name Society, received its first charter in the United States in the same year. Important for the future of Catholic Church historical records, the United States Catholic Historical Society was formed in 1884. In expanding numerically, Catholic societies and associations were meeting the requests of both the Second and Third Plenary Councils; but the first attempt at combined action, the Catholic Union, had declined into a few diocesan Unions in New York, Boston, and Richmond, Virginia.

The Catholic Union had been a federative movement in the sense that each subordinate member would retain its autonomy and individual character while being represented on the Council of the Union. Even though the Union did not limit membership to societies, it granted special privileges to affiliating societies by making the presidents and secretaries members of the Council.

Societies and associations did not assume any great responsibility in the early federative movement because many had been but recently formed and were in early stages of progress. Older organizations like the Central Verein and the Irish Catholic Benevolent Union had made an initial step towards combination, but the action had been somewhat facilitated by a similarity of aims and purposes of the two societies.

Another reason for the apparent failure of the Catholic Union was the attitude of some members of the hierarchy, especially their feeling that the Union would not fulfill the purpose intended. Local diocesan Unions succeeded only to the extent that they were supported by the bishop, and a successful national Union would have required the cooperation of a large number of the prelates.

The Catholic Union movement was certainly not entirely a failure because diocesan Unions were found in the United States after the turn of the century. It was true that some had been identified with other organizations bearing a similar name, but the notion died more slowly on the diocesan level than on the national scale. The desire for united action had been manifested in the formation of the Catholic Union, and that wish taunted Catholics until the federation movement became a reality.

In the meantime the United States had become infected with a "centennializing" fever which also touched the Catholics. After the centenary of the battle of Lexington and Concord, the hundredth anniversary of other incidents was commemorated with a celebration.

The year 1889 would mark the hundredth anniversary of the establishment of the American Hierarchy, a thought which inspired the Catholic hierarchy to plan a celebration in commemoration of the event. Little did the hierarchy realize that the proposed centenary would lead to the First Catholic Congress and to another step towards the federation movement.

CHAPTER II

FEDERATION AND THE CONGRESS MOVEMENT

The first, and weakest, phase of the federation movement was definitely ended by the time of the Third Plenary Council in 1884. However, the suggestion had been made, and an attempt at federation had been effected in the Catholic Union; but Catholic societies, though numerous, were unready to assume the responsibility of the cooperation needed for greater unity. The second phase of the federation movement was mingled with the Congress movement of 1889 to 1893.

The unity among the American hierarchy displayed at the Third Plenary Council was shortly to be shattered by such questions as the single tax as expounded by Henry George,[1] the problem of a Catholic university,[2] and the Knights of Labor.[3] Two underlying causes for the disunity, often crossing each other, were a growing liberal-conservative division and nationality differences among the hierarchy, principally the German-Irish conflict.

Any disagreement within the hierarchical ranks disturbed the Roman Cardinals whose reactions were reported to the United States by Monsignor Denis O'Connell, Rector of the American College. The apparent lack of enthusiasm for the founding of the Catholic

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[1] S.L. Malone, Dr. Edward McGlynn (New York, 1918).

[2] John T. Ellis, The Formative Years of the Catholic University of America (Washington, 1946).

[3] Henry J. Browne, The Catholic Church and the Knights of Labor (Washington, 1949).

University troubled O'Connell greatly because Pope Leo XIII cherished the idea of an American Catholic University. In a letter to Cardinal Gibbons in March, 1888, O'Connell said, "the Holy Father spoke to me most seriously...because he evidently thinks the dignity of the Holy See is involved."[4]

Rome was also disturbed about the nationality problem. The Propaganda had given permission, at the request of German-American priests, for the establishment of German parishes, and Archbishop Patrick Ryan of Philadelphia, especially, feared conflicts if these parishes were not begun.[5] Furthermore, a "clique of German priests" whose "prevailing spirit [was] dangerous"[6] upset Bishop Camillus Maes of Covington. And Archbishop John Ireland of St. Paul told Cardinal Gibbons, "Msgr. O'Connell writes that in Rome they are more and more resolved to put down nationalism."[7]

Gibbons was eager to eradicate nationality as associated with the various Catholic societies, as he wrote to Ireland in October, 1888, "I wish that something could be done to eliminate from...societies their foreign national titles, and to make them more American in name and spirit. If I have an opportunity I will urge the President of the Irish Catholic Benevolent Union to use his influence in having the first prefix dropped." The Cardinal had tried this before, but as he said, "a mistaken Irish sentiment of patriotism prevailed."[8] Archbishop Ireland agreed with Gibbons' suggestion and added, "This will be an example to the Germans. My conviction grows daily that the Church cannot prosper in America, so long as she seemingly persists in draping herself in foreign un-American garbs."[9]

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[4] O'Connell to Gibbons, Rome, March 25, 1888, Gibbons, AAB.

[5] Ryan to Gibbons, Philadelphia, December 10, 1886; April 10, 1887, Gibbons, AAB.

[6] Maes to "Most Rev. Eminence," Covington, July 10, 1888, Ireland, AASP.

[7] Ireland to Gibbons, St. Paul, October 27, 1888, Gibbons, AAB. Gibbons had received the red hat in 1886.

However, the thought of a commemoration of the hierarchy's centennial was to a great extent conducive to unity. At first Cardinal Gibbons had decided that this would be mainly a commemoration by the hierarchy because he had serious reasons for discouraging a large gathering of Catholics in a public meeting. When the Roman Cardinals had asked Monsignor O'Connell to request Gibbons to hold mass meetings protesting the position of Leo XIII in Rome, Gibbons took up the matter with the metropolitans gathered for a Board Meeting of the Catholic University. Gibbons told Ireland, "They were unanimously of the opinion that the time was very inopportune for holding such public meetings, which would very probably result in provoking counter demonstrations of the opponents to Temporal Power."[10]

The Archbishops had reason to fear "counter demonstrations" because since 1887 a new type of "Know-Nothingism" had cropped up at the instigation of Henry F. Bowers, a former Marylander living in Clinton, Iowa. Known as the American Protective Association, it was originally a local anti-Catholic society based upon jealousy, envy and sheer prejudice. By 1889 it had spread through the Midwest and had pledged its members not to hire Catholics nor to vote for them for public office. The APA was also nativist in its principles.[11]

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[8] Gibbons to Ireland, Baltimore, October 19, 1888, Ireland, AASP.

[9] Ireland to Gibbons, October 27, 1888, op. cit.

[10] Gibbons to Ireland, Baltimore, November 24, 1888, Ireland, AASP.

Despite the reluctance of the Archbishops to hold mass meetings, the centennial was the occasion for the first national Congress held by Catholics. Henry J. Brownson, son of the famous publicist, was responsible for the initiation of the idea. Early in February, 1889, Brownson had conceived the notion of a Catholic congress such as he had attended in Europe.[12] He communicated his suggestion to the Superior General of the Paulist Fathers, Reverend Augustine Hewit, who replied that he preferred not to have his priests associated with such a lay movement.[13] Undaunted, Brownson wrote to a close friend of Archbishop Ireland, William J. Onahan, an active layman of Chicago, and to several bishops including Cardinal Gibbons, Archbishops Patrick Ryan of Philadelphia, John Ireland of St. Paul, and Patrick Riordan of San Francisco, and Bishops Richard Gilmour of Cleveland, Joseph Dwenger, C.P.S., of Fort Wayne, Lawrence Scanlan, Vicar Apostolic of the Vicariate of Utah, and Stephen Ryan of Buffalo.[14]

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[11] Humphrey J. Desmond, The A.P.A. Movement: A Sketch (Washington, 1912), p.7. Hereafter cited as Desmond, A.P.A.; cf. Myers, Bigotry, Chapters XXI and XXII.

[12] Sister M. Sevina Pahorezki, O.S.F., The Social and Political Activities of William James Onahan (Washington, 1942), p. 109. Hereafter cited as Pahorezki, Onahan. There is no one really comprehensive study of the Congress. The Pahorezki treatment and two master's theses cover the meeting adequately. The two dissertations are: Sister M. Francis Gerald Broderick, O.P., "The Catholic Lay Congress of 1889," (Unpublished master's dissertation, University of Notre Dame, 1949); Vincent J. Donovan, "The First American Catholic Lay Congress, November 11-12, 1889," (Unpublished master's dissertation, Catholic University of America, 1940). For a recent study of the social matters treated at the Congress see Aaron I. Abell, American Catholicism and Social Action: A Search for Social Justice 1865-1950 (Garden City, 1960), Chapter IV. Hereafter cited as Abell, Social Action.

Gibbons quickly sent his opinion, "Such a convention if properly managed would not fail to foster a stronger spirit of brotherhood among the Catholic communities, and give them a greater consciousness of their strength." But the Cardinal was obviously not in favor of such a meeting at that particular time because he added, there was "not sufficient time between now and November next to elicit the cooperation of the Prelates of the country and to formulate the programme of the Congress." Using a delaying action Gibbons told Brownson he thought that the "opening of the Catholic University" which would follow the hierarchy's celebration in Baltimore might "be availed of as very opportune to elicit /the hierarchy's/ views and to invite their cooperation."[15]

Brownson's proposal had been somewhat misunderstood by the Cardinal either deliberately or accidently, but this did not deter either Brownson or Onahan from proceeding with the plans. The time element seemed no obstacle to them,[16] but they did ask Archbishop Ireland to intercede for them with the Cardinal.[17]

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[13] Hewit to Brownson, New York, March 11, 1889, Henry Brownson, AUND. Hereafter Brownson will refer to Henry Brownson papers.

[14] Brownson to Onahan, Detroit, March 22, 1889, Brownson, AUND.

[15] Gibbons to Brownson, Baltimore, March 27, 1889, Brownson, AUND.

The laymen had as guides for the proposed Congress the successful European gatherings. Catholic congresses had been held in Germany since 1848 when at Mayence a group of Catholics representing German Catholic societies had gathered to share information and experiences. According to the historian of the German congresses, Andrew Nierdermasser, the representatives at Mayence formulated a constitution for a lay congress under the direction of the clergy, which would meet annually. Because of the distances separating Catholics in Germany, the meetings were sparsely attended, many times two-thirds of those present being clergy and hierarchy. However, the meetings continued each year, and Catholicism in Germany gained strength by them.

In 1863 the Catholics of Belgium followed the lead of their German neighbors with even greater success. The size of Belgium presented no obstacle to the gatherings of large numbers of Catholics meeting in the huge auditorium at Malines where even French and German representatives participated. Both the German and Belgian congresses discussed such topics as art, the press, business, labor problems and religious matters. In Germany even politics was on the agenda, the various political parties being allowed to present their platforms.[18]

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[16] Onahan to Brownson, Chicago, April 3,4, 1889, Onahan, AUND.

[17] Ibid., April 10, 1889.

[18] "Malines and Wurzburg," CW, II (October-December, 1865), 1-11, 221-234, 332-347, 519-529.

Both European congresses were representations of Catholic societies, but there is nothing to indicate that these meetings were intended to be a federation of these societies. Nor is the relation between the Belgian Catholic Congress and the Belgian Catholic Union clear.

In the United States Henry Brownson had not been the first to make the suggestion that Americans follow the example of their European brethren in regard to congresses. As early as 1868 a writer in the Catholic World had pointed out the need of Catholics to assemble to discuss their problems, among them the Catholic press and education.[19] Apparently this was the only proposal for a Catholic Congress in this country until twenty years later.

When on March 22, 1889, Brownson had written to members of the hierarchy about the proposed Catholic Congress, he had also indicated that he would notify "noteworthy laymen" in each diocese of his plans. However, he had excluded members of the press from his list of names. Therefore, unaware of the movement for a Catholic Congress, Martin I. Griffin, editor of the ICBU Journal, published on April 15, 1889, an appeal for greater cooperation among Catholics primarily through existing societies.

Griffin pointed out that union among Catholics was "the only means by which the forces hostile to the Church and society" might be resisted, but he did not enumerate the forces. However, the editor continued by deploring the small number of Catholic societies and the lack of cooperation between different organizations. By union with each other, he urged, Catholic organizations could cultivate a "sound Catholic Spirit" and exchange ideas on "historical or scientific questions touching Catholic interests."

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[19] VIII (November, 1868), 228.

Five days after this article appeared, Archbishop Ireland presented to Cardinal Gibbons the case for the laymen preparing for the Congress. He stated that he had been "unwilling to say a word until" the Cardinal had spoken, but he told Gibbons that "several prelates-Riordan, Spalding, Maes, Gilmour-and even Corrigan [had] commended already the project, while, of course, throwing into their letters certain cautionary clauses." In Ireland's opinion much "good would come from the project" and it "would bring the Centenary new eclat (sic)." He ended his letter by saying, "Thank God, we are recovering from this misfortune" of foreignism.[20]

Ireland was a little optimistic about the vanishing foreignism because the nationality question injected itself into many letters about the Congress. Bishop Maes advised Brownson to include "national" groups in the plans because there was an "ill-advised movement of a very few German priests to keep German Catholics separated from" the others. Therefore, he added that the Congress should not "be considered distinct from and antagonistic to the German Catholics, but...the combining of all Catholic elements for the common good of the One Catholic Church of America."[21] Mindful that any Catholic who spoke English was considered Irish, Archbishop Ireland suggested that German Catholics be selected to serve on committees[22] because the letter to "noteworthy laymen" had been published on May 20, 1889.[23]

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[20] Ireland to Gibbons, St. Paul, April 20, 1889, Gibbons, AAB. The Prelates named in the letter include Archbishop Patrick Riordan of San Francisco, Bishops John L. Spalding of Peoria, Camillus Maes of Covington, Richard Gilmour of Cleveland, and Archbishop Michael A. Corrigan of New York.

Nationality was not the only difficulty the organizers had to face. Finding men willing to prepare papers posed another problem. When asked to prepare a paper, the historian John Gilmary Shea stated, "Will it not do more harm than good to get up and parade a fifth rate (sic) people and extol them as paragons of excellence?"[24] Later Shea begged to be excused on account of illness, but he finally consented to prepare a paper for the Congress.

The greatest crisis occurred, however, when an episcopal commission was appointed to work with the laity. Although this appointment came at the suggestion of the hierarchy, possibly Gibbons himself, Ireland arranged matters so that the proposal appeared to come from the laymen. The Archbishop wrote to the Cardinal on July 16, 1889:

> I have busied myself considerably with our 'Lay Congress,' since my visit to you and, I now believe, matters look

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[21] Maes to Brownson, Covington, May 8, 1889, Brownson, AUND.

[22] Ireland to Brownson, St. Paul, May 22, 1889, Brownson, AUND.

[23] Onahan to Members of the Laity, Chicago, May 20, 1889, Brownson, AUND.

[24] Shea to Brownson, Elizabeth, N.J., June 25, 1889, Shea, AUND.

> very well. Mr. Onahan will write to you in the name of the committee, asking you to appoint an episcopal commission, to which all papers, etc., will be submitted. I thought it would be better to have the laymen ask for this commission than to have it apparently imposed upon them.[25]

Brownson, the Chairman of the lay committee in charge of preparations, was quite annoyed that Onahan, who was only the Secretary, had agreed to an advisory board. In self-defense, Onahan wrote to Brownson, "I took for granted...that you were in the fullest accord with His Grace Archbishop Ireland, who had been with you in Detroit the previous week."[26] Peter Foy, journalist and representative on the committee from St. Louis, encouraged Brownson in his belligerent attitude towards the advisory board.[27]

The official call to the Congress was sent out on July 22, 1889, to the clergy and laity, after which Gibbons made overt suggestions about readers of papers, chairman of the Congress and general procedure.[28] Furthermore, he invited the Holy Father, or his representative, to the meeting and asked him to bless the centennial celebration as well as the Congress.[29] Leo promised to send Archbishop Francis Satolli as his ablegate.

Gibbons was very much concerned about the resentment evident among members of the Catholic press because they had been excluded from participation in the Congress. He agreed with Onahan that newspaper men had to be included if the words of the official call were to have any meaning. Onahan had written that the Congress would show to the world "the unity of the entire Catholic body in all that concerns the principles of our holy faith."[30] Therefore, he wanted to "endeavor to reconcile these malcontents." He suggested to Brownson that "George D. Wolff, M. F. Egan or Judy Hyde he invited to prepare a paper on Catholic journalism or the 'Catholic Press.'"[31]

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[25] Ireland to Gibbons, St. Paul, July 16, 1889, Gibbons, AAB; cf. Gibbons to Ireland, Baltimore, July 20,21, 1889, Ireland, AASP; Onahan to Elder, Chicago, August 17, 1889, Elder, AAC.

[26] Onahan to Brownson, Chicago, July 19, 1889, Brownson, AUND.

[27] Foy to Brownson, St. Louis, July 31, 1889, Brownson, AUND.

[28] Ireland to Brownson, St. Paul, August 9, 1889, Brownson, AUND.

[29] Gibbons to Leo XIII, Baltimore, August 12, 1889, Gibbons, AAB.

Meanwhile, Foy's fears of hierarchical interference were well founded. Ireland communicated with Gibbons that an early "meeting of the episcopal committee with the lay committees would be advisable," especially because of the commotion over the inclusion of the press.[32] Later the Cardinal designated Reverend Thomas O'Gorman to prepare the paper on the independence of the Holy See[33] which caused a storm of protest from Foy who reminded Brownson that according to the rules of the Congress only laymen were permitted to read papers.[34]

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[30] Onahan to Gibbons, Chicago, July 22, 1889, Gibbons, AAB. This is actually a copy of the "call." The full text of the call is found in Official Report of the Proceedings of the Catholic Congress Held at Baltimore, Md., November 11th and 12th, 1889 (Detroit, 1889), pp. xi-xiii. Hereafter cited as Official Report.

[31] Onahan to Brownson, Chicago, August 12, 1889, Brownson, AUND; cf. Gibbons to Ireland, Deer Park, Md., August 7, 1889, Ireland, AASP; ibid., Baltimore, August 10, 1889.

[32] Ireland to Gibbons, St. Paul, August 14, 1889, Gibbons, AAB.

[33] Ireland to Brownson, St. Paul, August 14, 1889, Brownson, AUND.

Once the Catholic Congress became public knowledge, many suggestions were sent to the Committee. One inquiry concerned the representation of societies, to which Onahan replied:

> The plan of the American Catholic Congress does not contemplate society representation and the terms and conditions...in the 'call' precludes (sic) the recognition of Societies as such. It will be a Congress of Catholic laymen without reference to Societies whether religious or national, or both...the rule is general and no exception has been made or is contemplated.[35]

Onahan reckoned without the pressure of public opinion, which, though unable to change the rules, could exert influence.

The Pittsburgh Catholic took up the cause of the Catholic societies in a lengthy editorial published on September 21, 1889. This was a definite appeal, not only for the Congress to give attention to societies, but also for a federative organization:

> But in the list of subjects we observe that there is no mention of that which should chiefly occupy the Congress...and must be a subject for debate between all the delegates. We refer to the scheme of forming a comprehensive Union, designed to include all Catholic laymen of the United States; and we invite the delegates to give the matter serious thought...First, such an American Union should be made of the loosest character. All existing associations of Catholics could be included in it, without any sacrifice to their particular or local features...The League would be hostile to no other body, and its principal aim would be to consolidate and still further improve the diverse elements of the Catholic population.

Catholic societies consequently received considerable attention among the speakers at the Catholic Congress.

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[34] Foy to Brownson, St. Louis, August 22, 1889, Brownson, AUND.

[35] Onahan to Wilbers, Chicago, 1889, Onahan, AUND.

Opening with a solemn Mass on November 11, 1889, and with the blessing of the Holy Father sent by Cardinal Rampolla,[36] the Congress was a surprise to the Protestants who called Catholics "priest-ridden." Before the final torchlight procession on November 12 a full agenda was completed by the delegates for the information and edification of the listeners.

After numerous impromptu speeches, John Gilmary Shea read the first regular paper entitled "Catholic Congresses." Shea gave a short history of the European congresses and their achievements and then discussed Catholic societies in this country. He mentioned that they were "generally identified with race; few... simply Catholic." Hence these bodies did "not represent the laity of the whole church in the republic, but only particular phases of it." He spoke of an attempt to form Catholic Unions "and by a central organization constitute a national body," but "the plan did not fulfill its earlier promise." By 1889, then, the Unions, according to Shea, were "virtually extinct." Thus, it seemed to the speaker that the Congress would satisfy the "necessary and long-desired organization" of the Catholic laity.[37]

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[36] Rampolla to Gibbons, Rome, November 9, 1889, Onahan, AUND; also contained in a letter to Gibbons, translated, 1889, Onahan, AUND.

[37] Official Report, pp. 21-22. Catholic Unions existed well into the twentieth century, even though they might have lost their original character. See John K. Sharp, History of the Diocese of Brooklyn, 1853-1953, 2 vols. (New York, 1954), II, 135; Lord, Boston, III, 186, 473; NYFJ, April 26, 1902, May 2, 1903; Harkins' Diary, February 16, 1898, AUND; Picayune, October 26, 1898. The stenographic copy of the speeches is in the Rare Book Room, UND Library.

He listed the grievances which called for united action: Indian mission schools, Catholic education, freedom of worship in penal and eleemosynary institutions, and the rights of Catholics to Church property.[38]

Speaking on "Lay Action in the Church," Henry Brownson stated very bluntly, "To enable the laity to work to any advantage in the cause of religion, there must be confidence in them on the part of the clergy, and manliness and freedom on their part."[39] Charles Bonaparte read the paper on "The Independence of the Holy See" that Gibbons had assigned originally to O'Gorman.[40]

President of Central Verein, Henry J. Spaunhorst of St. Louis, delivered a paper on "Catholic Societies" despite the opposition he had encountered from his own German friends during the days of preparation for the Congress. His friends had complained that Spaunhorst's participation in the Congress had interfered with their German Catholic convention.[41] In addition, Foy had remarked that Spaunhorst lacked the literary ability to write a paper.[42] However, Spaunhorst wrote the paper in which he declared that Catholic societies were needed in that "age of organizations." He said that a man not belonging to a society "is virtually isolated from his fellow-men and dependent upon himself, solitary and alone," and such "isolations are un-Catholic." His speech concluded with the opinion that the "existence of societies [had] become a necessity."[43]

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[38] *Official Report*, pp. 23-24.

[39] *Ibid*., p. 32.

[40] Gibbons to Ireland, Cape May, N.J., July 18, 1889, Ireland, AASP. The statement that "the task of reading the paper on temporal power was assigned to Charles Bonaparte...who had less to lose than" O'Gorman in Robert D. Cross, *Emergence of Liberal Catholicism* (Cambridge, 1958), p. 85, is not supported by the evidence indicated. The reason for Bonaparte's selection is further clarified in Brownson to Bonaparte, Detroit, August 22, 1889, Bonaparte, MD.

[41] Spaunhorst to Onahan, St. Louis, May 31, 1889, Onahan, AUND.

[42] Foy to Brownson, St. Louis, July 27, 1889, Brownson, AUND.

Other papers covered such topics as Sunday observance, capital and labor, charities, the press, and so forth. There were too many speeches scheduled to be delivered within the short time allotted to the Congress, but all papers were entered into the printed Proceedings contained in the Official Report. Like any other assembly of organization Catholics, the Congress ended with the usual resolutions, in this case resembling very closely the language of the recent Pastoral of 1884. The resolution on societies included the admonition to avoid dangerous organizations and to support "good and useful ones." Once more the words "union and concert of action" were found almost as Gibbons had stated them five years before.[44]

Most contemporaries considered the Catholic Congress a success; even the most skeptical saw that union among Catholics, both lay and clerical, was feasible. The secular press was generous in praise of the undertaking,[45] as were most of the

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[43] Official Report, p. 118.

[44] Ibid., p. 128.

[45] Clippings in the Onahan Collection, AUND, not dated more precisely than 1889: Minneapolis Tribune, Chicago Herald, St. Louis Globe-Democrat, and many others.

Catholic papers. The chief criticism leveled against the Congress was that there had been too little time for discussing the papers, perhaps because, as the C.T.A. News stated on November 19, 1889, "there seemed to be a fear on the part of the managers that if discussion were allowed, there would be rashness of speech, exhibiiions (*sic*) of unparliamentary conduct, etc., etc."

In his report to Leo XIII, Cardinal Gibbons cited the great enthusiasm for the Congress displayed by both Catholics and Protestants, saying, "The laity called to take part there spoke with the same manifest intelligence of the country and of the Catholic religious spirit, and with such an appreciation of most of our political institutions...that in truth this was a triumph for the Catholic Church." Thanking His Holiness for sending Monsignor Satolli as his representative, Gibbons assured the Pontiff that his holy person was "more venerated and loved." The Cardinal seemed proud to report that thirty Catholic societies had participated in the Congress.[46]

Archbishop Ireland had bestowed an accolade upon the laity in an address to them at the end of the Congress. He exhorted them "not to go back to sleep and slumber, as in the past - go back to work...organize." He accused himself, as a bishop, of having underestimated the true worth of lay activity, but he promised in the future "with God's help" that he would do all in his power to bring out the forces "existing in the midst of the laity."[47]

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[46] Gibbons to Leo XIII, Baltimore, December 7, 1889, (in French), Gibbons, AAB.

A Committee on Future Congresses had been formed with the instructions to arrange another congress not later than 1892. Peter Foy had argued that the chief aim of this committee should be to "get control of the committee on permanent organization" in order to keep the next congress under the laity.[48] However, before the Congress had adjourned, it was obvious that William Onahan had become the pivotal figure among the laity, and he had worked amicably with the advisory committee of the hierarchy.

Not all laymen were satisfied with the Congress as a means of lay action. John Gilmary Shea cast a dissenting vote when "he lost confidence in the value of the Congress after he heard the 'tame and meaningless words' of the resolution passed regarding the independence of the Holy See."[49] The Germans agreed with the sentiments in calling the resolutions "less than weak."[50]

The fears of the Archbishops that a huge assemblage of Catholics would arouse hostile forces were realized. As a result of the Congress the activities of the APA increased rapidly.[51] And Cardinal Gibbons' anxiety that a paper on the temporal power might lead to repercussions was also well founded. A Protestant writer, James Harris, stated, "The Papacy is what gives concern to the Protestant people of the United States,-far less Catholicism." Harris contended that to the Protestant the real menace of the Catholic Church lay "in the ultramontane and unrepublican conclaves in Europe."[52]

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[47] Official Report, pp. 187-188; cf. John Ireland, The Church and Modern Society, 2 vols. (Chicago, 1896), I, 71-101. Hereafter cited as Ireland, The Church and Modern Society.

[48] Foy to Brownson, St. Louis, September 21, 1889, Brownson, AUND.

[49] Peter Guilday, John Gilmary Shea (New York, 1926), reprint from HRS, XVII, (July, 1926), 122.

[50] Gleason, "Central-Verein," p. 43n.

[51] Desmond, A.P.A., p. 10.

Within two months of the closing of the Congress, the first diocesan federation of Catholic societies was undertaken by a group of laymen in Pittsburgh. "A majority of the Catholic Societies of the Diocese," said the Pittsburgh Catholic for February 1, 1890, "met to take steps towards the formation of a federation of Catholic Societies." Following the suggestion found in the same paper for September 21, 1889, Samuel Gilson, Chairman, announced that the main objects of the federation were "the more thorough cementing, maintenance and promotion of the cordial fellowship among the Catholic laity, everywhere (sic) and the upholding and conserving of the public welfare of Catholic communities."

By April 8, 1890, the committee on constitution had completed its work and had issued a pamphlet-sized report.[53] The committee justified federation as found in the encyclical of Leo XIII of January, 1890, Sapientiae Christianae, on the duties of Christians as citizens. Among the duties Leo listed the profession and spread of the faith and the necessity of good example. The point referred to by the committee on constitution for the federation emphasized the prime necessity of concord of opinion.

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[52] James Harris, "The Baltimore Congress's Catholicism," The American, XIX (December 7, 1889), 149.

[53] Federation of Catholic Societies-Pittsburgh American Federation of Catholic Societies (n.p., n.d.), AACHS, on microfilm, AUND.

Among the delegates representing the founders of the diocesan federation were members of many different societies, including the two branches of the Ancient Order of Hibernians. Of the new federation Samuel Gilson of the Emerald Benevolent Association was President; Joseph A. Skelly, Roman Catholic Union, Knights of St. John, First Vice-President; Joseph Rosinski, Knights of St. Michael (Polish), Third Vice-President; William A. Golden, EBA, Secretary; J. J. McGuire, AOH, Recording Secretary; D. J. McKelver, St. Vincent de Paul Society, Financial Secretary; John McFarland, AOH-Board of Erin, Treasurer; Thomas Kelly, ICBU, Executive Board Member; John Thoma, Knights of St. George (German), member on Laws and Regulations Committee. These few members illustrate the diverse societies represented in the Pittsburgh AFCS.

Martin Griffin, earlier sponsor of the federation movement, and Secretary of ICBU, praised Pittsburgh's inaugural meetings, the founders and the constitution. In fact, he was so pleased with the progress that in view of the continued attacks upon the Church, Griffin gave his article a first page spread on May 1, 1890, in the ICBU Journal. He attributed the success of the Pennsylvania organization to the efforts of William A. Golden, who at the time of the writing was in Baltimore "working up" a Diocesan Council. Then he mentioned the more important provisions of the preamble and of the constitution, among them: "distinct and disconnected Catholic lay union and isolated societies, whilst certainly more or less powerful for good, are...plainly too contracted in their separated fields of labor; whence arises the occasion of their aggregreation (*sic*) in one grand whole." This union would be universal

> for the fullest possible attainment of the general advancement of our Catholic people at large and acquisition of our co religious (*sic*) and their temporal interest generally.
>
> Being especially dear and sacred, the due protection and furtherance of the individual and collective rights and privileges of [the] Catholic people [were] momentous questions.

Consequently, he added, the Diocesan Council of the AFCS of Pittsburgh had banded together in a permanent union "whilst not at all disturbing the various societies' separate existence and objects." They pledged themselves specifically to "see to the fullest welfare of...just rights and demands for merited public recognition." This was "to constitute the nucleus of a grand alliance to be known as 'The American Federation of Catholic Societies.'"

Two months later, in July, 1890, Archbishop Ireland, speaking on "State Schools and Parish Schools," addressed the annual National Education Association Convention meeting in St. Paul.[54] Expressing his approval of state-supported schools, the Archbishop regretted the necessity of maintaining separate schools where religious instruction was part of the curriculum. The publication of this speech brought about a controversy which caused another split among the hierarchy. Before the decade would be over, other matters would further divide the prelates: "Cahenslyism,"[55] "Americanism,"[56] the Faribault-Stillwater school controversies,[57] and the establishment of the Apostolic Delegation.[58] These differences were frequently accompanied by unpleasant publicity.

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[54] Ireland, *The Church and Modern Society*, I, 217-232. While praising state schools, Ireland did not approve in any way the type of public school which excluded religion.

The storm aroused by Ireland's speech had not gained very much momentum when the Archbishops met in Boston on July 23 and 24, 1890. At the same time the Committee on Future Congresses was meeting in Boston. The Committee was comprised of laymen and several members of the hierarchy whom the laymen had invited to participate: William Onahan, M.W. O'Brien of Detroit, Patrick Farrelly of New York, John D. Kelley, Jr., of Brooklyn, Edmund F. Dunne of San Antonio, Florida, Morgan J. O'Brien of New York, John Boyle O'Reilly of Boston; Archbishops Elder,

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[55] John J. Meng, "Cahenslyism: The First Stage, 1883-1891," CHR, XXXI (January, 1946), 389-413; "Cahenslyism: The Second Chapter, 1891-1910," CHR, XXXII (October, 1946), 302-340; Colman J. Barry, The Catholic Church and German Americans (Milwaukee, 1952), Chapters V and VI.

[56] Probably the best treatment of the Americanist problem can be found in Thomas T. McAvoy, C.S.C., The Great Crisis in Catholic History, 1895-1900 (Chicago, 1957).

[57] Daniel F. Reilly, O.P., The School Controversy (1891-1893) (Washington, 1943).

[58] William F. Lallou, The Fifty Years of the Apostolic Delegation, Washington, D.C., 1893-1943 (Paterson, N.J., 1943) gives little of the struggle caused by the opening of the Delegation. Many letters in AAB, AASP and ADR give a better idea of the controversy.

Riordan and Francis Janssens of New Orleans; Bishops Spalding, Maes and John Foley of Detroit, and Reverend Mr. Montgomery of San Francisco.[59]

Messrs. Onahan, O'Brien of Detroit and James Dormer of Buffalo[60] asked the Archbishops for permission to attend the Prelates' meeting to receive any suggestions the Archbishops might wish to make relative to the next Congress. The laymen further requested that some of the Archbishops meet with the Committee and discuss several points that would come before it. At this request the Archbishops appointed as permanent members of the Committee Archbishop Ireland and Bishops Maes, Foley and Matthew Harkins of Providence.

This permanent Committee, meeting with the lay members, made the preliminary arrangements for the next Catholic Congress to be held, not in 1892, but in 1893 at the time of the World's Fair, the Columbian Exposition, in Chicago. They decided, also, to include a display of educational materials used in the Catholic school system. Notably missing among the laymen were Peter Foy and Henry Brownson, and once again the recognized leader was William Onahan. It was moved by Mr. O'Brien and seconded by Mr. Dunne that "the next Congress be enlarged to the 'Catholic Congress,' lay and clerical, as distinguished from 'Lay Congress.'"[61]

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[59] Minutes of the Committee on Future Congresses, July 25, 1890, Onahan, AUND.

[60] Minutes of the First Annual Meeting of the Archbishops in Boston, July 23-24, 1890, AAB, AABO. Dormer's name does not appear in the Minutes of the Committee on Future Congresses.

[61] Minutes of the Committee on Future Congresses, op. cit.

The Columbian Catholic Congress was to be preceded by more long-range plans than had preceded the Baltimore Congress. Edmund Dunne sent to the bishops a circular letter about the projected program saying, "Since there is no body which can organize diocesan groups preparatory to the convention, it is suggested that representative laymen begin now to help bring out the men who would work prominently in the congress in 1893." Dunne pointed out that the layman's right to be prominent was a stimulating motive especially in the example it would be to non-Catholic friends. He requested holding diocesan conventions even if only to elect lay delegates to the National Congress in 1893.[62]

Diocesan conventions were in strict accord with the Pittsburgh Federation of Catholic Societies. The Pittsburgh Catholic for August 7, 1890, announced enthusiastically a meeting of the AFCS to be held for the purpose of increasing its membership, but on the following week the paper announced that the meeting had been poorly attended. But the idea of federation had captured the attention of President Michael Glennan of ICBU who announced in the ICBU Journal of June 1, 1890, that federation would be considered at the Union's Convention in St. Louis in August.

Although William Golden had resigned as Secretary of the Pittsburgh AFCS before the ICBU Convention in St. Louis, August 20 to 22, a letter addressed by him to the Union was submitted to the delegates and incorporated into the Proceedings for that year. Golden wrote to President Michael Glennan of ICBU extending "cordial greetings and heartfelt good wishes in the name and in behalf of the American Federation of Catholic Societies, Pittsburgh Pioneer Diocesan Council, which [embraced] many thousands of our co-religionists," including a number of the units of the ICBU. The Pittsburgh AFCS agreed with the ICBU in "the effective confederation of...various society-aggregations in one grand whole." Further, Golden wrote, they were well advised and thoroughly confident that

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[62] Dunne to Corrigan, San Antonio, Florida, 1890, Corrigan, AANY.

> aside from [the] incidental development of the general brotherhood common alike to children of Holy Mother Church, and the promotion of a more widespread, cordial and generous personal friendship amongst the rank and file of Catholic laity everywhere (most meritorious objects in themselves) the signs of the times unerringly point to the evergrowing necessity for the vast body of our Catholic people to unite in a compact, working force in temporalities, even as they are a unit in matters spiritual.[63]

Golden's proposals coincided with the suggestions found in Glennan's call to the ICBU Convention which he had issued on May 15, 1890. To his constituents he had promised that the coming convention would undertake "the discussion of the proposition, looking to a 'federation of all Catholic National organizations,' in connection with other matters." Hence, he insisted that this indicated to all members of ICBU the "necessity for a full representation and the importance of societies selecting their best and ablest members to represent them."[64]

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[63] Proceedings of the Twenty-Second Annual Convention of the Irish Catholic Benevolent Union of the United States and Canada Held at St. Louis, Mo., August 20, 21, 22, 1890 (Philadelphia, 1890), p. 8. Hereafter cited as ICBU Proceedings.

[64] Ibid., p. 4. These Proceedings are also in the ICBU Journal, September 1, 1890 and passim.

Glennan's wishes were fulfilled in the resolution

> that this organization extends its congratulations and God speed to the various Catholic Societies throughout America and we hereby pledge ourselves to join them heart and hand in any and every good movement that may be inaugurated looking to the promotion of common objects and the advavcement (sic) of the interest of our common Catholic Brotherhood, and of our Holy Mother Church.

The delegates authorized the President to appoint a suitable committee to meet with "similar committees from Catholic National organizations" that "might be delegated to carry out the object of the resolution.[65]

Meanwhile, Ireland's antagonists among the hierarchy were finding reasons to criticize his attitude on public education, and this contention had some effect on the two lay movements. Both the federationists and those supporting the Congress idea were experiencing difficulties. At a meeting of the Executive Council of the Pittsburgh AFCS, the officers decided to accord Bishop Richard Phelan a formal welcome upon his return from his ad limina visit to Rome, but Mr. Holden's resignation was accepted and the vacancy was not filled. The Pittsburgh Catholic for August 28, 1890, inferred that this latter action indicated that all was not well with the federation.

Simultaneously Ireland informed Onahan that the Archbishop had lost confidence in the lay Congress and felt disinclined to support the coming meeting. Onahan wrote a seven-page letter to Ireland almost imploring the Prelate not to turn against the congress, saying, "I feel without your powerful aid and your active cooperation in the preliminaries--with all that this implies to others--the Congress could not succeed, and hence I should say we might as well drop the whole matter now before we are further compromised before the world or become entangled too deeply." The layman then explored all possible reasons for Ireland's change of attitude, but he could not find any sufficiently sound to prompt the abandonment of the project. With the Archbishop, Onahan agreed on many points: the Congress should not be a "mass meeting" but a representative body of bishops, priests and laymen; each priest and layman would come there "accredited with the written imprimatur of his ordinary"; each committee would include a bishop and a priest in addition to the laymen; papers would be supervised, but Onahan thought "a little freedom of speech won't hurt." After reviewing the good done by the Congress of 1889, Onahan made a last plea for the layman, showing what a power and force he possessed when united with others.[66]

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[65] Ibid., p. 24.

Ireland was not alone in his doubts about the coming Congress; Bishop John Foley was worried about the manner in which delegates were to be chosen. He contended, "If all associations and societies are to send delegates, there will be a truly catholic (sic) congress" but too vast an "aggretation" (sic) of persons. It is significant that the Bishop put stress upon representation through societies, indicating that societies as such were recognized as representative bodies of laymen. However, in the end Foley advised Onahan to "ignore all society representation and...make the number of delegates in proportion to the Catholic population of the various dioceses."[67]

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[66] Onahan to Ireland, Chicago, August 25, 1890, Onahan, AUND. Ireland must have turned hot and cold on the idea of the Congress until it actually occurred; cf. Spaunhorst to Onahan, St. Louis, March 15, 1893, Onahan, AUND. Ireland had been most enthusiastic about the achievements of the First Congress as can be found in Ireland to Onahan, St. Paul, December 13, 1889, Onahan, AUND.

To complicate matters still further, Bishop Bernard McQuaid of Rochester, New York, revived the old controversy over secret societies when he asked Gibbons exactly which societies had been censured by Rome.[68] This had been a perennial question among the hierarchy since 1879 at least,[69] and the Archbishops finally established in 1891 a "standing committee on Societies" "with the approval of the Holy See" to try to reach some degree of uniformity.[70]

Almost at the same time a second Cahensly memorial was presented in Rome. Peter Paul Cahensly, a German merchant, was grieved at the apparent losses to the faith among Catholic immigrants to America. He claimed that at least ten millions had lost their faith because there were too few clergymen available to instruct foreigners in their mother tongue. In his memorials to the Holy See, Cahensly asked that "national" bishops be appointed in the United States in proportion to the non-English speaking

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[67] Foley to Onahan, Detroit, October 4, 1890, Onahan, AUND.

[68] Gibbons to McQuaid, Baltimore, January 23, 1891, Gibbons, AAB.

[69] Simeoni to Chatard, Rome, August 21, 1879, Chatard, AAI; Gibbons to Elder, Baltimore, March 28, 1889, Elder, AAC.

[70] Gibbons to McQuaid, op. cit.

Catholics.

The Irish Catholic Benevolent Union denounced the Cahensly memorial as foreign interference and placed the Union's confidence in the ability of the hierarchy to guide Catholics "in their duty to God and their country."[71] During the Archbishops' Meeting in St. Louis on November 29 and 30, 1891, the Prelates also condemned the memorial for two reasons: its exaggerated and unjustifiable statements as to the losses to the Church of foreign-born Catholics, and the interference of subjects or governments of foreign countries in the ecclesiastical affairs of America.

Also on the agenda of the Archbishops' Meeting was the Catholic Congress. The Archbishops invited the cooperation of the clergy and the laity and selected the subject matter for the papers. In view of the Holy Father's magnificent encyclical on the condition of the workingman, Rerum Novarum, of January 1, 1891, the Prelates decided that all speeches at the coming Congress should be centered around the topics enumerated by Leo XIII in that letter. In spite of his attitude of the previous August, Ireland accepted a position on the General Committee on Organization which was to be headed by Archbishop Patrick Feehan of Chicago.[72]

Archbishop Ireland received special attention at the time of publication of the memorial. By his support of the Faribault-Stillwater school plans he had angered, among others, Archbishop Katzer of Milwaukee and his German followers. The school plan permitted Catholic children to attend public schools and to be instructed in religion outside of school time. Ireland had explained that in the area under discussion in his Archdiocese, Catholics were in the majority and too poor to support two school systems. Therefore, one school system would suffice so long as the religious education of the Catholic children was not neglected.

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[71] ICBU Proceedings, 1891, p. 9.

[72] Minutes of the Second Annual Meeting of the Archbishops, AAB, AABO.

German Catholics who had objected to the First Catholic Congress in 1889 now blamed Ireland "for keeping up the fight" on national lines.[73] To them Ireland was the embodiment of "Americanization" because he wanted all Catholics of foreign birth or foreign extraction to shed their foreignisms.

In early 1892 Onahan could report that progress was evident in the preparations for the Congress, and he anticipated an early letter of approval from the Holy Father.[74] However, he was somewhat subdued and annoyed to discover the publication of an account of a Committee meeting held in St. Louis in December. Judge Dunne had not attended the meeting, but he was quoted as an eye witness to the business adopted there. He wrote an account of the meeting to Condé Pallen, editor of Church Progress, and the letter was published in the Chicago Tribune for February 17, 1892. In the letter Dunne excoriated Archbishop Ireland for usurping too much authority in the preparations for the Congress. Pallen and Dunne were also opposed to the emphasis being placed upon the social questions in the Congress and thought that temporal power and education should receive more attention.[75]

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[73] Spaunhorst to Onahan, St. Louis, June 2, 1891, Onahan, AUND; cf. Pahorezki, Onahan, p. 141.

[74] Onahan to O'Brien, February 13, 1892, Onahan, AUND.

Ireland had not attended the "informal" meeting in St. Louis, and at the time of Dunne's accusation was in Rome defending his school proposition. From there he advised the Cardinal that O'Connell had some doubts about the Congress. Gibbons replied, "I entirely agree with Msgr. O'Connell. I wrote to you about a year ago expressing my misgivings about the outcome of the Congress." He then asked Ireland to write to Onahan "telling him to do nothing until he hears further from you," but "suppression... will have to come from the Archbishops."[76] The Cardinal wanted Onahan to delay things until the next Archbishops' Meeting when they "would try to kill it, or that failing, to determine that this should be the last Congress."[77]

Apparently Ireland did nothing about the situation[78] because planning continued, accompanied by the usual difficulties in obtaining committeemen for the Congress.[79] Enthusiasm for the project seemed to live only in the minds and hearts of a few dedicated men who could expect support mainly from "convention" Catholics who would attend an annual meeting and forget the organization until the next year. Cardinal Gibbons also had some doubts about the educational exhibit as being "too cumbersome and unwieldy besides involving a great outlay" of money.[80]

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[75] Ibid., February 23, 1892; cf. Abell, Social Action, pp. 110-111.

[76] Gibbons to Ireland, Baltimore, February 25, 1892, Ireland, AASP.

[77] Ibid., February 26, 1892.

[78] No evidence is available, and no comprehensive study has been done on Catholic participation in the Congress; Pahorezki, Onahan, Chapter VI, covers only one phase; cf. Abell, Social Action, pp. 109-117.

[79] Numerous letters in the Onahan Collection, AUND.

In Europe, Archbishop Ireland was making progress towards an approval of his school plan, even though the subject was creating factional differences among the hierarchy on this side of the ocean.[81] By August, 1892, Ireland was back in the United States, interesting himself in the coming Congress and in the World's Fair of which the former was to be a part. There can be little doubt that he was the leading prelate of the period, for even the Fair directors changed the opening program for November 21 so as to give Ireland "a leading part" in the Fair. Because of his being lionized at the Fair, Ireland learned that Archbishop Feehan had become quite jealous of the St. Paul Prelate's influence in Chicago.[82]

Meanwhile the federation movement was making slow progress. At the 1892 convention of the Irish Catholic Benevolent Union the delegates demanded that "all true Catholics...alive to their interests, as well as their privileges as Catholics, should combine through the medium of Catholic societies for the purpose of impressing their Catholicity...upon the community wherein they" lived.[83]

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[80] Gibbons to Elder, Baltimore, April 20, 1892, Elder, AAC.

[81] Riordan to Magnien, San Francisco, April 23, 1892, Gibbons, AAB; Gibbons to Keane, Baltimore, May 6, 1892, Keane, ACUA; Elder to Gibbons, Cincinnati, May 19, 1892, Gibbons, AAB; Ryan to Gibbons, Philadelphia, May 22, 1892, Gibbons, AAB; etc.

[82] Ireland to O'Connell, St. Paul, August 10, 1892; O'Connell, ADR (AUND).

Almost oblivious to the federation movement, the leaders of the Congress drafted a tentative program, listing the proposed topics to be discussed.[84] But Ireland's interest seemed directed towards the Fair more than the Congress, for he gleefully reported to Monsignor Denis O'Connell, "I am on the programm (*sic*) either to open the dedication with a prayer, or to make an address. At first no Catholic was on the programm(*sic*), which would have been most unfortunate, especially in view of coming occurrences. I am, indeed, so intimate with the directors that I am master of the situation."[85]

But in the fall of 1892 the Presidential election had the United States in a turmoil over free silver and the tariff question, and Catholics, like everyone else, were divided on the issues. Although Catholics limited their political activities to more local situations, their old adversaries, the APA, were entering the national level. The APA had increased in numbers in protest to the numerous celebrations of Catholics, commemorating the four-hundredth anniversary of the landing of Columbus;

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[83] *ICBU Proceedings*, 1892, p. 16.

[84] Program, Catholic Congress, AANY.

[85] Ireland to O'Connell, St. Paul, August 20, 1892, O'Connell, ADR (AUND).

and political unrest as a result of the defeat of the Republican party enabled the APA to become politically stronger.[86] Later, the handling of the tariff question and other financial legislation on the part of the Democratic Congress, played into the hands of the APA, who, during the years 1893 and 1894 began to control primary elections, siding with the Republicans in order to avoid forming a third party.[87]

Amidst this excitement news reached America that Pope Leo had once more selected Archbishop Satolli to represent the Pontiff in the United States, this time at the World's Fair.[88] When informed of the imminent arrival of Satolli in the company of Monsignor O'Connell, Onahan prepared a telegram of welcome to meet the two dignitaries as they landed in New York.[89] Gibbons did not know what his own position was to be in the ceremonies of the Fair,[90] but he was greatly disturbed to discover that the Secretary of the Exposition had failed to send an invitation to the Pope's legate.[91] Satolli did not address the gathering at the opening of the World's Fair,[92] but later he did speak at the

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[86] W.J.H. Traynor, "Policy and Power of the A.P.A., "North American Review, CLXII (June, 1896), 662. Traynor was President of the APA and author of several articles, some anti-Catholic.

[87] Desmond, A.P.A., p. 14.

[88] Gibbons to Ireland, Baltimore, September 11, 1892, Ireland, AASP.

[89] Onahan to O'Connell, Chicago, October 13, 1892, Onahan, AUND.

[90] Gibbons to Ireland, Baltimore, September 11, 1892; August 29, 1892, Ireland, AASP.

[91] Gibbons to Ireland, Baltimore, September 16, 1892, Ireland, AASP.

[92] Gibbons to Ireland, Baltimore, September 11, 1892, Ireland, AASP.

Catholic Congress.[93]

Meanwhile, Catholics had been asked to participate in a ten days' Parliament of Religions to be held at the Columbian Exposition after the Catholic Congress. Bishop John Keane, now rector of the Catholic University, was assigned by the Archbishops to seek competent speakers to represent the Catholic Church at the Parliament.[94]

Apparently neither the Pittsburgh federation nor the Irish Catholic Benevolent Union expected to send any representation to the Catholic Congress. In fact, sub-committee reports put no stress upon societies as such,[95] but several national organizations were arranging to meet in Chicago at the same time as the Congress. Among these organizations were the Catholic Young Men's National Union, the German Catholic Young Men's Guilds, the Societies of St. Vincent de Paul, the Congress of Colored (Negro) Catholics, the Catholic Press of the United States and the American Louvain Students.[96]

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[93] Progress of the Catholic Church in America and the Great Columbian Catholic Congress of 1893, 2 vols. in One Book, 4th ed. (Chicago, 1897), II, 44. Hereafter cited as Progress of the Catholic Church. There are many books on the Columbian Exposition, but they differ very little in the actual reporting of events. This study gives a satisfactory account of the Congress.

[94] Keane to American Archbishops, Washington, November 12, 1892; Gibbons, AAB; Corrigan, AANY. Secondary sources differ on Gibbons' attitude towards the Parliament. Will said Gibbons thought Catholics should participate, Allen S. Will, Life of Cardinal Gibbons (Archbishop of Baltimore), 2 vols. (New York, 1922), I, 569. Maynard says Gibbons was opposed to taking part and would kill efforts in the future, Theodore Maynard, Great Catholics in American History (Garden City, 1957), p. 204. This latter sounds like a confusion of the Catholic Congress with the Parliament of Religions.

[95] Report of the Sub-Committee, 1893, AANY.

In the meantime, another annual meeting of the Archbishops had taken place in New York in November, 1892, where the Archbishops in attendance signed the statement to be sent to the Holy Father, refuting the charge of the number of losses to the faith among Catholics in recent years. At the same meeting Archbishop Satolli read a paper incorporating fourteen points which he felt would be a solution to the Minnesota school controversy.[97] Not long after this meeting, Satolli was appointed Apostolic Delegate to the United States, and Cardinal Gibbons informed the Pontiff that there was great satisfaction over the news of the appointment.[98]

During the last months before the Congress, there was feverish activity. Onahan asked the bishops to give names of lay speakers "of the highest ability and scholarship,"[99] and Gibbons planned to ask for the papal blessing on the affair. However, being "overpowered by work,"[100] the Cardinal asked

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[96] Onahan to Ryan, Chicago, August 19, 1893, Onahan, AUND.

[97] Minutes of the Third Annual Conference of the Most Reverend Archbishops of the United States held in New York, AABO; pamphlet in AAB; Gibbons' Diary, November 19, 1892, p. 263; American Archbishops to Leo XIII, November 17, 1892, Gibbons, AAB; Most Reverend Francis Satolli, For the Settling of the School Question (Baltimore, 1892).

[98] Gibbons to Leo XIII, Baltimore, January 21, 1893, Gibbons, AAB. Many of the American prelates felt there was no need for an Apostolic Delegate in this country, and Gibbons' letter averted a serious problem because the prelates had already sent a letter to Rome bearing their sentiments.

[99] Onahan to Elder, Chicago, February 8, 1893, Elder, AAC.

[100] Gibbons to Onahan, Baltimore, July 25, 1893, Onahan, AUND.

Onahan to request Archbishop Feehan to open the Congress. Feehan graciously complied and made Cardinal Gibbons honorary president.[101] Archbishop Ireland's enthusiasm was somewhat dampened by the realization that many people would be unable to attend the Congress because they were afraid to leave their businesses during the financial crisis of 1893.[102]

Meanwhile, news of the appointment of the Apostolic Delegate increased the membership of the APA to an alleged two millions. Obviously, according to them, Monsignor Satolli had come to direct legislation in the United States, an undeniable fact since he was to take up residence in Washington.[103] Still worse, though, was the publication of two documents, furtively distributed, purported to include "new instructions to Catholics" and a papal bull or encyclical. Even those who knew the documents to be forgeries feared them because "they came so close to actual Catholic teachings."[104] The bull, bearing the signature of Leo XIII, called for the massacre of Protestants on or before the feast of St. Ignatius, 1893, but at least before the convening of the Catholic Congress at Chicago. So great was the fear that many Protestants refused to leave their homes to attend the World's Fair[105] even after it was evident that the instructions were spurious. Actually the accusations were as much opposed by less biased Protestants as by Catholics,[106] several ministers of Columbus, Ohio, feeling obliged publicly to refute them.[107]

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[101] Onahan to Gibbons, Chicago, July 25, 1893, Gibbons, AAB.

[102] Ireland to Onahan, St. Paul, August 10, 1893, Onahan, AUND.

[103] Desmond, A.P.A., p. 15; John T. Ellis, The Life of James Cardinal Gibbons, 2 vols. (Milwaukee, 1952), I, 625. Hereafter cited as Ellis, Gibbons.

[104] Desmond, A.P.A., p. 19.

[105] Ibid., pp. 20-21; Washington Gladden, Recollections. (Boston and New York, 1909), p. 360; Myers, Bigotry, p. 234.

These distractions did not delay the final arrangements for the Catholic Congress, and with the arrival of the Holy Father's blessing in August, 1893, these were completed.[108] Onahan discovered rather belatedly, however, that no provision had been made to welcome the national organizations which were to have their meetings in Chicago at the time of the Congress. He wrote hastily to W. A. Amberg, President of the Columbus Club in Chicago, "The fact of the assembling of these important and representative Catholic bodies and organizations in Chicago at the same time and in the same place is an unusual event." Therefore, he asked that some Catholic organization in Chicago indicate to the visitors that the city was honored with so many representative groups.[109]

Catholic societies found a place in many of the speeches delivered at the Congress which was held from September 4 to 9, 1893. Warren Mosher, youth leader from Youngstown, Ohio, spoke long and eloquently on "Young Men's Societies," pointing out the need both for such groups and for paid personnel to operate them. With the help of the clergy and the proper stimuli to attract young men, the predominance of women in societies could be counteracted. Given lyceums, polytechnic institutes and social plans, young men would use their spare time to their advantage.[110] Speaking on "The Rights of Labor," a Chicago lawyer, Edward Brown, said that nowhere was "a fitter place to discuss the social problem and to find its solution than in the Societies of the Holy Church."[111] Under the title of "Catholic Organization" Henry Spaunhorst once more discussed Catholic organizations,[112] and Reverend Francis McGuire of Albany delivered a paper on "Working Men's Organizations and Societies for Young Men."[113]

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[106] Ralph H. Gabriel, The Course of American Democratic Thought (New York, 1956), p. 263.

[107] Desmond, op. cit., pp. 20-21; unidentified clipping, Onahan papers, AUND; Charles G. Robinson, "The Threatened Revival of Know-Nothingism," The American Journal of Politics, V. (November, 1894), 511.

[108] Gibbons' Diary, August 21, 1893, p. 267, AAB: Gibbons to Onahan, Baltimore, August 21, 1893, Onahan, AUND.

[109] Chicago, 1893, Onahan, AUND.

In the resolution on societies, "concert of action" was not included. Trying to incorporate the principles of Rerum Novarum, the writers of the resolution stressed the condition of working girls and women, the work of charity, continued extension of Catholic life insurance, beneficial and fraternal societies, the diffusion of sound literature and the education of minds on economic subjects. In this way, it was believed, the pernicious effects of erroneous teachings would be counteracted.[114]

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[110] AUND; Progress of the Catholic Church, II, 114-117.

[111] AUND; ibid., II, 46-52. His name is also spelled Browne.

[112] AUND; ibid., II, 101-103.

[113] AUND; ibid., II, 117-120. His name is also spelled Maguire.

[114] AUND; ibid., II, 199.

The Second Catholic Congress was not the success of its predecessor of 1889. Many reasons are offered for the apparent failure, one being the hierarchy's distractions over other problems. The Central Verein felt that the resolutions were not sufficiently good for the Verein to adopt.[115] Many people had been forced to remain away from the Congress because of the depression which had swept the country beginning in the fall of 1892, and, in fact, a large number of Fair employees were out of work for a long time after the Fair closed.[116]

Cardinal Gibbons sent a copy of the Proceedings of the Congress to the Holy Father[117] and also recommended, along with Ireland and Satolli, that the work of the layman, William Onahan, in the two Congresses be rewarded with the "Camerare di Cappa and Opada." (sic)[118] Leo graciously granted the request and raised Onahan to that dignity. Cardinal Gibbons likewise informed the Pontiff through Cardinal Rampolla of the Parliament of Religions in which the Catholics had participated.[119]

Although the Parliament of Religions had passed without serious adverse comments, and had been a symbol of Catholic co-operation with members of other religions, Leo XIII wrote two years later to Archbishop Satolli that he had "tolerated with prudent silence" that participation, but he thought "it would... seem more advisable that the Catholics should hold their conventions separately."[120]

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[115] Wallrath to Gibbons, Logansport, Indiana, December 25, 1893, Gibbons, AAB; copy in O'Connell, ADR (AUND); Gleason, "Central-Verein," pp. 45-46.

[116] CC, November 18, 1893.

[117] Gibbons' Diary, November 14, 1893, p. 269, AAB.

[118] Gibbons to Leo XIII, Baltimore, November 28, 1893, Gibbons, AAB; Ireland to O'Connell, St. Paul, November 6, 1893, O'Connell, ADR (AUND); cf. Mary Onahan Gallery, Life of William J. Onahan: Stories of Men Who Made Chicago (Chicago, 1929), pp. 54-56; Pahorezki, Onahan, p. 165.

[119] Gibbons' Diary, September 26, 1893, p. 268, AAB.

Something killed the lay Congress movement in the United States, for after 1893 very few laymen agitated for a third Congress of the type held in Baltimore and Chicago. As a medium of concerted Catholic activity the Congress had been a disappointment. Too many topics were listed on the programs, and consequently there was not always time to discuss the subjects. Although the resolutions of the Congresses covered matters touching on many social aspects of Catholic life, no provision was made to carry out the resolutions.

However, the Catholic Congresses were very important in the movement for greater unity among Catholics. Intelligent laymen had shown the world their ability to handle topics of the day from the Catholic viewpoint. Protestants, especially, were impressed when reading about the correct principles expounded from the Congress platforms. Also the presence of the clergy and hierarchy amidst large gatherings of laymen helped dispel the old "priest ridden" charge against Catholics.

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[120] AER, XIII (November, 1895), 395; Review, October 31, 1895; John Reily, Collections and Recollections in the Life and Times of Cardinal Gibbons, 7 vols. (McSherrytown, Pa., and Martinsburg, W. Va., 1890-1902), IV, 418.

With the exception of the vague and ambiguous reference to "concert of action" in the resolution on societies of the First Congress, the Congresses as such had no direct influence on the federation movement. However, throughout the period of 1889 to 1893 Catholic societies made efforts to spread the idea of federation, and the first real attempt at federation in Pittsburgh was somewhat successful. Onahan recognized the importance of the presence of the several national organizations meeting in Chicago at the time of the Second Congress, and Cardinal Gibbons had reported to Leo XIII with pleasure that thirty societies had been present at the First Congress.

After the Second Congress, attention seemed to be focused on the society, whether friendly or secret, and the drive for federation picked up greater momentum. Before the national Catholic federation came into being, many obstacles had to be overcome; but from 1893 until the formation of the American Federation of Catholic Societies in 1901, there was a slow, steady movement to accomplish the national organization.

CHAPTER III

THE FORMATION OF THE FEDERATION OF CATHOLIC SOCIETIES

The third phase in the federation movement culminated in the formation of a national organization, federating national, state and local organizations. Such a union had been tried on the diocesan level in Pittsburgh and had been proved to be feasible. Like every organization which depends upon the human element, the Pittsburgh federation had had periods of varying success; but by the end of the Second Catholic Congress, the federation was still in existence.

One situation that aided the growth of the federative idea was the constant threat of secret societies. In 1893 Rome was considering the condemnation of three additional secret societies: the Odd Fellows, the Knights of Pythias and the Sons of Temperance. The Archbishops had not always agreed upon the criteria which made a secret society dangerous, and after 1893 the doubts still remained with some prelates.

Bishop James McFaul of Trenton wrote to Archbishop Corrigan, his Metropolitan, in 1894, and asked why the three secret societies would be censured. The Bishop stated that he was willing to obey any regulations coming from Rome about societies, but he could not understand the reasons for the condemnation of these three organizations.[1] McFaul was to state some years later[2] that he had always, even as a young priest, been interested in societies, and his later actions would corroborate this statement.

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[1] McFaul to Corrigan, Trenton, 1894, AANY.
[2] NYFJ, June 9, 1900.

To counteract the influence of harmful societies, Pope Leo XIII urged the formation of Catholic societies and clubs for Catholic workingmen,[3] but many Catholic organizations had difficulty remaining solvent.[4] And although Rome had not condemned the Knights of Labor as a forbidden organization, by 1896 that union of workingmen was on the decline as a result of the violent strikes at Pullman, Illinois and Homestead, Pennsylvania, and for organizational reasons.

Several Catholic prelates realized the dangers of forbidding Catholics to join proscribed secret societies when the Church had nothing with which to replace them. Catholics were further confused by the publication of a list of secret societies in an article by William Harwood in the North American Review which included such Catholic organizations as the Catholic Knights of America, Irish Catholic Benevolent Union, Catholic Benevolent Union, Ancient Order of Hibernians, and many others.[5] These were obviously not dangerous to Catholics, and it is doubtful that they were even "secret."

Catholics holding membership in secret societies were in an anomalous position. Many had joined insurance societies for business reasons, and others who were seeking to advance on the social scale had joined for the prestige to be gained from such well-known organizations as the Odd Fellows. Archbishop Riordan wrote to Cardinal Gibbons that it would be "impossible to make men leave" secret societies, "hence thousands with their families" would be "practically cut off from the Church."[6] Later, the Archbishop took the view that the societies were "pure and simple benevolent organizations."[7] Ireland agreed with Riordan when writing to Gibbons that enforcing the censure would "do the Church in America immense harm."[8]

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[3] CC, February 17, 1894.

[4] CTAU Proceedings, 1894, p. 93. There are many other examples that could be cited.

[5] William Harwood, "Secret Societies," CLXIV (May, 1897), 620.

Even Cardinal Gibbons was disturbed about the necessity of forbidding Catholics to remain in the proscribed societies. He admitted to Ireland in a letter, "I am distressed by the condemnation" especially because the "Prelates will have to bear the burden and responsibility of the decision without being able to give all those that...ask us for the motives of our actions" a suitable answer.[9] Formal condemnation of the three societies came from Rome in 1894 from M. Cardinal Monace through Archbishop Satolli, the Apostolic Delegate, to Cardinal Gibbons.[10]

On January 6, 1895, Pope Leo XIII issued the encyclical Longinqua in which he included advice to Catholics to shun not only the societies condemned by the Church but also those deemed dangerous by intelligent men, especially the bishops. The Pontiff continued, "Catholics ought to prefer to associate with Catholics--a course which will be very conducive to the safeguarding of their faith," selecting as presidents "either priests or upright laymen of weight and character." Wherever social matters were involved, the Holy Father advised the leaders of societies to follow the principles laid down by Rerum Novarum. Leo emphasized the fact that the laity had a duty next to the clergy and hierarchy to aid in apostolic efforts and that journalists should disseminate the truth without conflicts among themselves.[11]

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[6] San Francisco, October 2, 1894, Gibbons, AAB.

[7] Ibid., December 17, 1894.

[8] St. Paul, December 7, 1894, Gibbons, AAB.

[9] Gibbons to Ireland, Baltimore, December 10, 1894, Ireland, AASP.

[10] Letter reprinted in MC, January 3, 1895.

The Review for February 27, 1895, published Archbishop Satolli's clarification of the decree of condemnation, in which he insisted that all bishops publish the contents of the decree in their dioceses. In a letter to Ireland, Father Frederick Rooker, Satolli's secretary, discussed the meaning of the decree,[12] but this did not dispel the fears held by Ireland and Gibbons. The latter had written to Ireland on February 17, 1895, that no explanation of the decree helped the lay member of a secret society because there remained the "incommendum" on "account of pecuniary loss, or social ostracism, or loss of position."[13]

Realizing the dangers to Catholics who were members of forbidden organizations, existing Catholic benevolent societies continued to explore the means of providing a solution. The Catholic Knights of America, a successful insurance organization, presented the idea of federation in their convention of 1895, but "the scheme of the amalgamation of the Knights with other Catholic organizations was defeated."[14] In the same year, the Catholic Young Men's National Union passed a resolution at its convention urging upon all the duty to induce all organizations of Catholic young men to affiliate with the CYMNU.[15]

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[11] CUB, L (1895), 243-246.

[12] Rooker to Ireland, Washington, March 4, 1895, Ireland, AASP.

[13] Gibbons to Ireland, Washington, Ireland, AASP.

Although the ICBU had become less vocal in its efforts to promote federation among Catholic societies, Archbishop Satolli called the ICBU a model for other Catholic societies to follow.[16] President D. W. Lynch of ICBU agreed with the Delegate, saying:

> The necessity of organization of Catholic societies such as are embraced in our Union, was never more important than at present. We are squarely confronted by organizations avowedly antagonistic to our Holy Church. While we discreetly make reference to them, the influence of a large convention of the best representative thought in the Societies will command the respect of the conservative class of all denominations.[17]

Besides the presence of antagonistic organizations mentioned in Lynch's statement, Catholics were confronted by violations of their rights as citizens usually relative to discriminations against Catholic schools.[18] The Catholic press waged a war against these violations as regularly as it publicized the dangers of secret societies. But when an "American Catholic League was organized for the purpose of combating the 'A.P.A.,'"[19] Cardinal Gibbons wished

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[14] NWC, May 24, 1895.

[15] Ibid., October 4, 1895.

[16] ICBU Proceedings, 1895, p. 11.

[17] Ibid., 1896, p. 3.

[18] Review, March 18; January 21, 1897.

[19] Allen S. Will, Life of Cardinal Gibbons, 2 vols. (New York, 1922), I, 538. Hereafter cited as Will, Gibbons.

"to be understood as in no way approving any secret organization, political or non-political, within the Church or without."[20] By 1896 there was little need to combat the APA; it was split over the election. One faction endorsed McKinley's nomination and the other scored him as a tool of the Catholic hierarchy.[21] Of course, the Catholics were divided over the issues in the same election, Ireland, the ardent Republican, being dismayed at the Populist support of Bryan.[22]

In 1897 individual Catholic societies, especially the German groups, began to include the discussion of the social question in their conventions to "further Catholic interests."[23] As yet, these groups had formulated no definite theory of social thought, but their interest in the immigrants and the poor working men was sufficient to bring these problems before their delegates in their annual conventions.

The cause of Catholic unity was aided in 1897 when the Ancient Order of Hibernians, divided over a constitutional matter involving the place of annual meetings, asked Bishop McFaul to act as arbiter between the AOH and the Board of Erin branch.[24] Being of Irish descent, McFaul qualified as arbiter, and he accepted the position and was successful in bringing harmony between the factions by settling all points of difference.[25] This arbitration not only united the two branches, but it helped to shake from the AOH the stigma of "secret."

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[20] John Reily, Collections and Recollections in the Life and Times of Cardinal Gibbons, 7 vols. (McSherrytown, Pa., and Martinsburg, W. Va., 1890-1902), IV, 587; Will, Gibbons, I, 539.

[21] Myers, Bigotry, p. 245.

[22] Aaron I. Abell, "American Catholic Reaction to Industrial Conflict: The Arbitral Process, 1885-1900," CHR, XLI (January, 1956), 405.

[23] Review, May 6, 1897.

[24] TCR, March 17, 1897.

In the same year the Irish Catholic Benevolent Union in its annual convention extended the courtesies of the floor to the Catholic Total Abstinence Union and the Total Abstinence Army of America.[26] It must be remembered that the ICBU had earlier agreed to exchange delegates with the Central Verein in a first step towards inter-organizational cooperation. Unity through the Catholic Unions was proposed again in 1898 and 1899 by the same Richard Clarke whose plan of a national federation of Catholic Unions had received publicity in the 1870's.[27]

Conversely, The Review reflected some suspicion of the Knights of Columbus in articles on April 14 and 28, 1898. The chief point under consideration was the "secret oath," and The Review believed it should publicize that feature of the Knights of Columbus who were gaining popularity in the Midwest. However, the matter was closed when Archbishop Satolli announced his endorsement of the Knights in The Review for May 5, 1898.

While the debate over the Knights of Columbus was being conducted in The Review, the United States began the Spanish-American War following the fateful message of President McKinley to the

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[25] Ibid., August 12, 1897; John O'Dea, History of the Ancient Order of Hibernians and Ladies' Auxiliary, 3 vols. (Philadelphia, 1923), III, 1147, 1161, 1346; James Powers, ed. Pastoral Letters and Addresses and Other Writings of the Rt. Rev. James A. McFaul, D.D., LL.D., 2d ed. (New York, 1916), pp. 111-113. Hereafter cited as Powers, Pastoral.

[26] ICBU Proceedings, 1897, p. 11.

[27] Clarke to Corrigan, October 28, 1898; January 24, 1899, Corrigan, AANY; photostatic copies in author's possession.

Congress on April 11, 1898. Lasting less than four months, the war brought to the United States an overseas empire stretching from the Philippines to the Caribbean. These new territories were predominantly Catholic and, consequently, the Catholic press watched vigilantly the government's policy of administration in the newly acquired possessions.

To the chronic issues involving discrimination against Catholic schools in the United States, Indian schools, Catholic chaplaincies in the army and navy and the treatment of Catholics in public institutions, the Catholic press now added the protection of Catholic rights in the new possessions, and the "Friar Land Question."[28] This last issue concerned the vast land holdings of the religious communities of men who had taught and worked among the natives in the Philippines. The seizure of the lands as a result of the American victory seemed a great injustice because they were privately owned and not part of conquered territory. On November 3, 1898, The Review raised a cry for a Centre Party to defend Catholic "rights," while the Sacred Heart Review of Boston demanded on December 31, 1898, at least a concentration of Catholic power behind a party which would obtain justice for Catholics.

Matters were further complicated for Catholics in the United

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[28] Richard Balfe, "The Philippine Friar Land Question and the Taft Commission to the Vatican in 1902," (Unpublished master's dissertation, University of Notre Dame, 1949); Francis Coghlan, "The Impact of the Spanish American War on the Catholic Church in the United States of America," (Unpublished master's dissertation, University of Notre Dame, 1956), Chapter III. Hereafter cited as Coghlan, "Impact."

States when an outcropping of "Americanism" in France brought about the condemnation of the so-called heresy by Leo XIII in his Apostolic Letter, Testem Benevolentiae, of January 22, 1899.[29] In a reply to the Holy Father, Gibbons assured him that Americanism implying the founding of an American national Church had no existence among the hierarchy, clergy or laity in the United States.[30]

The Review continued, meanwhile, its demands for a Centre Party and cited a recent incident involving Cardinal Gibbons. Gibbons had asked Congress to reopen the Indian school problem, but he had been ignored. This was, as Ave Maria asserted on March 25, 1899, a "test of Catholic influence" which "failed because the politicians understand that Catholics never let such a trifle as rank injustice to their religion influence them in politics."[31] Preuss of The Review quoted the Ave Maria, adding that, although the idea of a Catholic Centre Party was repugnant to some Catholics, the situation might force Catholics to form one. Until that day, Preuss added, there was needed "a joint letter of the American bishops to their flocks, and a congress of Catholic editors to agree upon a uniform and vigorous political policy.[32]

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[29] Leo XIII to Gibbons, Vatican, January 22, 1899, AABO.

[30] Gibbons' Diary, March 17, 1899, p. 290, AAB.

[31] XLVIII, 372; Review, April 6, 1899.

[32] Review, April 6, 1899; NWC, July 21, 1899.

Individual Catholic organizations went on record protesting discriminations against themselves and their co-religionists. At the first Conference of Catholic Colleges in Chicago in 1899, "unwarranted state interference with private rights and privileges" was denounced. The Conference expressed itself ambiguously in favor of "maintaining intact the liberties of private institutions."[33] This was no doubt directed against the practice of discriminating against Catholic women who sought teaching positions in Boston.[34] Washington Gladden seemed to realize the validity of the protest when he wrote, "Our Roman Catholic citizens have earned the right to be protected against such proscriptions...They are bearing their part in the promotion of thrift and order and intelligence.[35]

Catholics did not form a Centre Party to solve their problems. Instead a resolution passed through "the initiative of the Knights of St. John at their Cleveland convention of June, 1899,"[36] became the basis for the first successful federation of Catholic societies through which concerted action might be accomplished.[37] The resolution was:

> Whereas - At the end of the nineteenth century there are a number of Catholic Societies, all alike in possession of social, fraternal, and benevolent features;

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[33] Review, May 18, 25, 1899; cf. "The Association of Catholic Colleges," CUB, V (July, 1899), 357-363.

[34] SHR, November 12, 1898.

[35] Washington Gladden, Recollections (New York, 1909), p. 365.

[36] Ellis, Gibbons, II, 375.

[37] The Catholic-Universe dedicated the whole issue of June 23, 1899, to this convention, but the resolution does not appear.

> all alike in seeking increased membership and each possessing special features; and
> Whereas - The interest in the Catholic Church and of all Catholic societies...requires an organizational department...for the carrying out of the fraternal features of the different societies; and
> Whereas - It is not intended to change the government or disturb the autonomy of any existing society, but merely to co-operate, be it
> Resolved - That the Supreme President appoint a committee which shall, at once, place itself in communication with the officers of the different Catholic societies, and where necessary to visit the convention of the societies, giving the outline of the plan of federation and asking co-operation;
> Resolved - That an appropriation be made to cover the expense of this committee.[38]

Under the chairmanship of General H. T. Rush of Indiana the committee began the preparation of a form letter to be sent to all the hierarchy, every Catholic newspaper and all Catholic societies in the United States.[39] By September 8, 1899, a booklet was ready for circulation. According to the booklet, nothing could be accomplished in those turbulent days without organization, and Catholics seemed to be missing their greatest opportunity. In Lutheran Germany and Anglican England, the booklet noted, the Catholic laity had long since organized their forces, but in America Catholics allowed daily misrepresentation and ridicule to go uncontested. In an age when the lust of imperialism had added its problems to those already existing, the time was critical and unity was necessary. It was "not proposed that the different societies... should lose theirindentity (sic);" but that there should be a

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[38] Rush to Elder, Evansville, Indiana, September 8, 1899, Elder, AAC, (form letter); cf. 45 GV, 1900, pp. 74-79.

[39] Rush to Elder, op. cit.

"federation of Catholic societies, leaving to each its autonomy and government, its name, language, and constitution, but establishing a Central Board of all Catholic societies to more thoroughly carry out the principles of fraternity and charity in every city and town of the land."[40]

The same principles of autonomy and independence found in the Constitutions of the Catholic Union and of the AFCS, Pioneer Council of Pittsburgh, were incorporated into this initial statement of federation by the Knights of St. John. In addition, the committee wrote, "Let us have a Catholic Union of America as England has her Catholic Union of Great Britain."[41] The latter had survived and increased since the days of Pius IX. However, since the Knights of St. John used the Catholic Union as the example for the proposed federation of Catholic societies, it may be presumed that the earlier Catholic Union of the United States was a federation also because it was organized along similar lines.

Finally the committee of the Knights of St. John trusted "that officers and members of Catholic societies will receive this fraternal greeting in the spirit in which it is given and accord the plan of federation as here outlined careful and conscientious investigation."[42] The committee had done its work and could only await developments.

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[40] Booklet of COMMITTEE ON FEDERATION OF CATHOLIC SOCIETIES Appointed by the Twenty-first International Convention of the Knights of St. John (Buffalo, n.d.), p. 6, AAC.

[41] Ibid., p. 7. TCR, September 21, 1899.

[42] Booklet, op. cit., p. 8.

The Northwestern Chronicle of July 21, 1899, noted that unity would be "forced upon" Catholics sooner or later, but it would not be furnished by existing societies. Since most of these organizations were in no sense general, they ignored "the most vital of the interests which would be promoted by such a union." While criticizing societies in general, the Chronicle on September 9, 1899, took up the cause of the Knights of Columbus who were "taking the country by storm." A "society for...the intelligent laity of America" having "a field of its own," it did "not clash with the work of any other Catholic organizations; amongst these fraternal institutions, it holds a place corresponding to the university in the educational system."

Meantime, the booklet of the Knights of St. John aroused interest wherever it was sent. The Sacred Heart Review for September 9, 1899, claimed credit for initiating the idea of federation, while The Catholic Record for September 21, 1899, assured its readers that the venture would be "hailed with delight by nine-tenths of the reverend clergy throughout the country." A later issue of the Sacred Heart Review, September 16, 1899, quoted the Protestant Congregationalist as saying that the federation was a bid for a "Catholic party," but the Review pointed out that "petty jealousies, ignoble squabbles and" divisions among Catholics over local issues precluded any formation of a Catholic party.

A running commentary was carried in the Sacred Heart Review during November and December, 1899, between a reader who called himself C.R. and the editor or other readers. One recurrent subject in the discussion was unity among Catholics and its value. No unity could be possible, it was agreed, without brushing aside "those narrow, selfish and discreditable divisions which so often array us into Irish-American, German-American, French-American, Polish-American and similar camps and factions." With unity, any "injury done under cover of the law, but in contradiction to the spirit, if not the letter, of the Constitution and of American principles...would touch the entire Catholic body and cause it to take measures at once for redress of that injury and restoration of those rights." The injuries listed were those cited repeatedly since before the First Catholic Congress: Indian education, salaried Protestant (but not Catholic) chaplains in public institutions, indiscriminate placement of truants in houses of detention, etc. C.R. had the last thrust by blaming Catholic apathy as "one of the chiefest (*sic*) causes of our present helplessness.

Outsiders often looked upon the Catholic Church in the United States as a conglomeration of foreign-born, as C.R. had mentioned. At the turn of the century millions immigrated into the United States, almost a third of the newcomers being Catholics of eight predominantly Catholic countries.[43] The differences in languages and customs, together with the number of purely "nationality" societies that existed, posed a problem for the founders of the federation.

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[43] Gerald Shaughnessy, S.M., *Has the Immigrant Kept the Faith?* (New York, 1925). In round figures there were 4,480,000 immigrants for 1900, p. 168n; of these 1,225,000 were Catholics of Austria-Hungary, Belgium, Italy, Portugal, Spain, Canada, Ireland and Mexico, pp. 175 and 189.

However, the Catholic press kept before the reading public the "grievances" or violations of Catholic "rights" that justified the need for Catholic unity. The New York Freeman's Journal for January 6, 1900, indicated that the "American Political League" was "probably composed of the A.P.A. employees in the various Government departments," and denounced it for seeking to limit the importation of foreign labor. The twenty-one years' period of probation prior to naturalization urged by the APL must certainly be directed against recently arrived Catholics. On January 27, 1900, the Journal attacked the public school system in Pierpont, New York, for dismissing sixteen children who refused to attend the opening religious exercises in the school; and there was no other school for the children to attend. While criticizing the Harvard Law School for rejecting Boston College graduates as not up to standards, a third article on February 17, 1900, had to admit that Georgetown men were admitted to the Cambridge school.

In the midst of these complaints, the presidential election of 1900 drew near, and many issues divided Americans. There were imperialists and anti-imperialists, McKinley followers and Bryan supporters, free-silver and gold standard adherents. While many of the Catholic newspapers denounced McKinley for his part in the war and its aftermath, anti-Catholic papers accused him of papist leanings. Clear thinking seemed foreign to too many spokesmen.

It was, therefore, according to a headline in the Freeman's

Journal, "Time for Catholics to Wake Up and Demand their Rights."[44] If rights were being violated, it was time to wake up and use the polls properly to attain the ends desired. This would mean, of course, that all Catholic voters were united on all issues, an unlikely presumption. Actually, Catholics were not even united on the idea of unity.

A *Chronicle* headline for February 23, 1900 shouted, "Should Catholic Societies Unite?" The writer of the article under the headline attempted to answer the question by saying that Catholic societies were too heterogeneous. "The AOH is for one class; the Verein is for another; the O.[rder] of F.[oresters] appeals to a certain class, the K. of C. to yet another, and so one might go on through the whole list. So long as racial and social differences in the Catholic body exist, the need for various fraternal societies will exist." The time had not yet come for unity because the "Church in this country must look to its educational establishments for its future prestige and advancement." Catholic societies had "acted wisely in endowing chairs at the Catholic University;" they could "do nothing better than to promote the interest of true education in the Church."[45]

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[44] NYFJ, February 24, 1900: cf. Orazio M. Premoli, *Contemporary Church History* (London, 1932), p. 342.

[45] German Language and Literature Chair by German Catholic Central Society, Weber to Elder, Milwaukee, April 5, 1897, (form letter), Elder, AAC; Knight's Chair by CKA, CKA to Elder, Santa Fe, N.M., April 6, 1897, (form letter), Elder, AAC; Father Matthew's Chair of Psychology by CTAU, and Gaelic Chair by the Irish, Patrick Ahern, *The Catholic University of America, 1887-1896, the Rectorship of John J. Keane* (Washington, 1948), pp.113 and 116. McQuaid called this the "Murderers' Chair," McQuaid to O'Connell, Rochester, January 16, 1892, O'Connell, ADR,(AUND). The history chair endowed by the KC was not paid for until 1904, M.F.Egan and J.B.Kennedy, *Knights of Columbus in Peace and War*, 2 vols. (New Haven, 1920), I, 139ff; "The Chair of American History," *CUB*, X (July, 1904), 371-385.

Preuss quoted an article from the *Northwestern Chronicle* for February 16, 1900, opposing federation and added, "there is neither need nor a possibility of such union and amalgamation, at least under present conditions."[46] Supporting the opinions of *The Review* and reflecting the opinions of Archbishop Ireland, the *Chronicle* for April 27, 1900, denied that parochial schools imposed a "double tax" upon Catholics; that Catholic Indians would be better off in a different school system; that a political party was needed. The article ended with a typical "Ireland" statement, "The Catholic Church is prejudiced and injured by the ceaseless repetition of unfounded accusations against the fair mindedness (*sic*) of civic officials....Brand a man with bigotry and in self defense he is almost obliged to assume the role assigned to him."

Amidst this controversy about the need for unity, the recently reunited AOH held its annual convention for 1900 in Boston where a letter from Bishop McFaul, the arbiter of 1897, was read. He "struck the right keynote when he urged that all Catholic Societies in this country, however diverse may be their aims as regards other matters, should act as a unit when Catholic rights are ignored or invaded." The Bishop wrote:

> The highest motives...appeal to us to unite and work energetically for our rights as Catholics.
>
> We ought on every possible occasion to enter our protests against the arrogant assumption that this is a Protestant country, in which we Catholics should accept as a gracious concession any privilege our Protestant fellow-countrymen may be pleased to accord us. We are on an equal footing with them, and any

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[46] *Review*, March 1, 1900.

> attempt on their part to make their religion take precedence of ours in public institutions supported by public taxes is a challenge to us which we should not permit to go unanswered.

Among some of the means used by Protestants, McFaul cited the Union of Protestants in New York which was proselytizing Catholic children. Furthermore, he pointed out that whereas one-third of the population of New Jersey was Catholic, there was not that percentage of Catholics represented on the boards of public institutions. He added:

> It seems to me that all societies composed of Catholics should endeavor to touch at certain points, so that, while retaining their identity and pursuing their own aims independently of other organizations, there should be a bond of union enabling them, in given circumstances, to exert a united influence.... If we were so organized, can it be supposed for a moment that the present administration would have passed over in silence the outrages against religion perpetrated...in those countries which have lately come under the flag of the United States?

Above all, he argued, such a union should be free of partisan politics.[47]

Having read McFaul's letter to the AOH, Preuss contended that this had been the policy of The Review for some time: "It is exactly what we meant when we said repeatedly, in season and out of season, that what we American Catholics need most is a Centre Party."[48] No wonder many feared that the federation movement was a political organization. In listing the grievances as stated in the Bishop's letter, Preuss reversed the order, placing the Philippine problem first.

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[47] NYFJ, May 19, 1900.

[48] May 31, 1900. Preuss' listing of the grievances is no doubt responsible for the general belief that the Spanish American War was the major cause behind federation. Both the Chronicle and The Review began to reverse their opinions of federation in the summer of 1900.

Archbishop Ireland, a friend of lay action, was very sensitive to the overplaying of Catholic grievances, and was inclined to view federation as useless.[49] Being a friend of the McKinley Administration, he was especially annoyed by Catholic objections to some actions of the Federal government.[50] Consequently, it is not surprising to read that the Chronicle of May 25, 1900, continued to be doubtful about the proposed union of societies by stating that concerted action might at first succeed; but such an organization would hardly escape the "Scylla and Charybdis of partisan politics and in the long run would do more harm than good."

General Rush of the Knights of St. John had a reply for the charge of partisan politics against the new federation. In a long article in the Tidings for May 26, 1900, he stated that the "formation of a Catholic political party" had always been disclaimed, and every communication from the committee insisted on the fact that politics must not enter the movement. Local federations of societies, "organized as a direct result of the agitation of the Knights of St. John, in the District of Columbia, Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, Texas, California, etc., never once mentioned politics or party;" and these locals had formed so "as to be ready at any time to join the national federation."[51]

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[49] Doyle to Brownson, Milwaukee, August 25, 1902, Brownson, AUND.

[50] Benjamin Blied, Three Archbishops of Milwaukee (Milwaukee, 1955), p. 107. Hereafter cited as Blied, Three Archbishops.

Rush had published a similar objection to political leanings in the Chronicle for May 25, 1900, which elicited a characteristic reply, "If Mr. Rush...had given more [space] to the task of proving or trying to prove that his plan of uniting Catholic societies is in any respect necessary for genuine lay action, he would at least have contributed something of interest to the literature of the question."

Eleven months had elapsed between the publication of the booklet by the Knights of St. John and convention season, 1900. In the meantime a Constitution had been prepared in Cincinnati for either a local or national federation.[52] But Catholic organizations meeting for their annual conventions had much to settle before a national federation could be accomplished.

Bishop McFaul once more gave reasons for societies to unite when he addressed the Knights of Columbus on the occasion of their fifth anniversary in New Jersey, in June, 1900. He said that societies had not lived up to the expectations of Catholics. And by accepting injustices, Catholics gave Protestants an incorrect view because, said the Bishop, "We allow ourselves to be put aside too easily, on the plea that it is useless to assert our rights....Our silence convinces Protestants that we are satisfied....With our own seats of learning we patronize non-sectarian schools." Catholic colleges faced financial difficulties because wealthy Catholics did not "match Protestants in generosity." Finally, the Catholic press must be supported and an 'Apostolate of the Laity' must be developed.[53]

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[51] There is reason to doubt that the Pittsburgh federation, once formed in 1890, ever disbanded. The skeleton plan for a Constitution submitted later to an organizational meeting was signed by the same William A. Golden of the Diocesan Federation.

[52] Matre to Elder, Cincinnati, June 7, 1900, Elder, AAC.

Nine other societies sent delegates to the Knights of St. John Convention in Philadelphia in June, 1900, for the purpose of discussing federation,[54] and thirteen additional organizations evinced interest in the movement. In addition, approval from the Apostolic Delegate, Cardinal Gibbons, several Archbishops and eighteen Bishops had been obtained. The delegates decided to form a Central Federation Board for all Catholic societies and diocesan unions and to establish in each diocese information, employment, statistical and library bureaus; therefore "forming a more perfect union among the different Catholic societies, to defend Catholic rights, promote Catholic institutions and provide for the support of Catholic institutions." No political party was to be formed.[55]

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[53] *NYFJ*, June 9, 1900.

[54] The following were listed as present: James Flaherty, KC, representing 65,000 members; John H. Diamond, Young Men's Institute, 20,000; Rev. Koulakis, Bohemian Catholic Union, 10,000; Patrick O'Neill, AOH, 104,869, and Ladies' Auxiliary, 26,711; Theodore Thiele, COF, 82,654; F.W.Maloney, Catholic Relief and Beneficiary Association, 10,000; John Davis, ICBU, no statistics; CKA, 23,000. This last representative left before giving his name. There are few adequate studies of the societies who became members of AFCS, and the early period is especially poorly covered. All efforts to obtain the minutes of the meetings of the K of SJ for 1898-1901 were unsuccessful. Newspaper accounts vary. *NWC*, July 21, 1900; 45*GV*, 1900, p. 76; *Standard and Times*, June 30, 1900.

[55] *NYFJ*, July 14, 1900; *NWC*, July 21, 1900.

An early reaction to the proposed federation is found in the Proceedings of the Central Verein for 1900. The report of the Committee on the Formation of Catholic Societies of the Knights of St. John was incorporated into the Proceedings,[56] and a committee of the Verein was named to study the possibilities of federation.[57] In this same report the names of the two prelates closely identified with the federation movement, Bishops McFaul and Sebastian Messmer of Green Bay, were united for the first time. Nicholas Gonner, editor of the Dubuque Tribune, mentioned that both Bishops had expressed interest in the Catholic federation. Gonner in particular referred to Messmer's speech at the Katholikentag at Green Bay where the Bishop said that the greatest problem besetting federation was differences in nationalities, and the most pressing issues needing attention were divorce, labor, Puerto Rico and the Philippines.[58]

Ave Maria greeted the news of progress towards federation as "A Tardy Step in the Right Direction."[59] But the Apostolic Delegate, Archbishop Sebastian Martinelli, wrote to John A. Kuster of Columbus, Ohio, in reference to a federation meeting held in that city on July 1, 1900, "I hope...that, as the movement progresses and the Catholic societies grow strong in union, they will ever remember that before numbers and before union, the great source of Catholic strength is ecclesiastical authority." This letter was published in both the Chronicle for July 28, 1900, and the Freeman's Journal for August 4, 1900.

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[56] 45CV, 1900, pp. 74-79.

[57] Ibid., pp. 97-98.

[58] Ibid., p. 101; cf. Gleason, "Central-Verein," pp. 114-132. Messmer's connection with McFaul is not clarified in Blied, Three Archbishops, and Father Blied told the present writer that he had used all available evidence in his book and that no more existed. The change in spelling from Porto Rico to Puerto Rico occurred only in 1932.

[59] LI (October 13, 1900), 472.

At Atlantic City, in August, 1900, McFaul spoke on federation once more before the Knights of Columbus on their "Embarkation Day." This time, either consciously or otherwise, the Bishop used a popular theme to gain followers to his cause, the pillage and injustice prevalent in the Philippines.[60] Apparently, until this time in 1900, McFaul had not had any intercourse with the Committee of the K of SJ, and it is difficult to determine whether he influenced the societies by his talks or was himself moved by the actions of the Knights of St. John and the other societies advocating federation.

Also in August, 1900, the communication from the K of SJ was read and received by the ICBU in its annual Convention. It was then moved by Delegate #556 named McGovern:

> that we appoint a committee of three on the Federation of Catholic Societies to report to this Convention, to bring to a head the action of years and years. I would like to see the I.C.B.U. have the honor of bringing it to a point. We could do nothing better to please the heart of the Bishop of Trenton than to take the first steps toward the business of forming the Federation.[61]

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[60] NYFJ, August 4, 1900; NWC, August 11, 1900. McFaul used the same speech repeatedly.

[61] ICBU Proceedings, 1900, p. 21.

After a discussion of the proposal it was assigned to a committee of seven to study and make a report to the Convention. They reported:

> This committee favors the project of the Catholic unity as outlined by the Rt. Rev. Bishop McFaul, in his address at Atlantic City, to the K. of C., and would suggest that the National President be empowered to confer with the other Catholic bodies and report back to this body the result of their united efforts for final action.[62]

The federation movement gained support from the German societies largely through the stirring speeches of Bishop Messmer, one of which he delivered in German at the Fond du Lac German Convention. Saying that Catholics were isolated from one another, even in the same diocese, the Prelate contended that where societies existed they were "limited to some particular nationality, and their object [was]...generally the promotion of private interests, even if...in a spiritual sense." Even the International Catholic Truth Society (formed in 1899) had a "very limited, if laudable purpose. The general Catholic congresses of Baltimore and Chicago were well-meant attempts, but of their efforts nothing" permanent had resulted. He stressed how important "united action would be for the promotion of public enterprises...for the abolition of public evils, etc." This need for unity was manifested to everyone, in his opinion. Finally, the Bishop stated that he had been happy to note in The Review that Bishop McFaul had publicly advocated the formation of such a general Catholic federation for the United States. Messmer said, "His ideas are exactly the same as those I have tried to explain to you...not a political Catholic party, but a centre of action for our Catholic people."[63]

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[62] Ibid., p. 53.

This remark shows that McFaul and Messmer had been working independently of each other until August, 1900, at least. Later, McFaul stated that he had "consulted two eminent ecclesiastics" before "taking any active steps in the matter" of federation. One of these may have been Bishop Ignatius Horstmann of Cleveland,[64] but neither had been Messmer because McFaul added, "I received more encouragement when my old professor and friend, Archbishop Messmer," joined the organization[65] in 1901.

Father Thomas Malone, a Denver editor, answered an article by McFaul on federation[66] arguing that a presidential election year was the wrong time for such a message.[67] However, the writer did agree "with a most distinguished author [unidentified] that it would be much better if both Catholics and Protestants would cease accepting money from the state for any purpose."[68] Such dissensions elicited from Ave Maria the remark, "It would not surprise us if Catholic federation should be defeated by the characteristic of American Catholics--the passion for debate."[69]

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[63] Review, August 23, 1900.

[64] Michael J. Hynes, History of the Diocese of Cleveland (Cleveland, 1953), p. 225. "Bishop Horstmann was looked upon as a promoter of such unity," citing McFall (sic) to Horstmann, March 15, 1901. Earlier the statement is made that the first meeting was held in Cleveland in 1889 (sic). A footnote, p. 227, indicates "voluminous correspondence" in the Archives of Cleveland on societies. The present writer was told there was nothing in the Archives for the present topic. Correspondence dated September 17, 1960.

[65] Powers, Pastoral, p. 285. This speech was given in 1908 after Messmer had transferred to the Archdiocese of Milwaukee. McFaul also said this at the First Convention.

[66] "Catholics and American Citizenship," North American Review, CLXXI (September, 1900), 320-332; reprinted in Powers, Pastoral, pp. 145-160, and in pamphlet form.

[67] "Catholic Citizens and Constitutional Rights," North American Review, CLXXI (October, 1900), 594; cf. NWC, October 13; November 17, 1900.

In the meantime, the first meeting of the societies preparing to federate was held at the Lafayette Hotel in Philadelphia on September 16, 1900, in answer to a call of John J. O'Rourke, dated September 1, 1900. The delegates present elected Henry J. Fries of Erie, Pennsylvania, Knights of St. John as Chairman, and O'Rourke as Secretary. These two and Patrick O'Neill of Philadelphia, National Director of the AOH; Daniel Duffy of St. Clair, Pennsylvania, President of the ICBU; and Reverend D. F. McGillicuddy of Brooklyn sent a call to all societies to send delegates to a meeting to be held in New York on Thanksgiving Day, 1900.[70] Close upon this meeting the Catholic Young Men's National Union endorsed McFaul's proposal and adopted the resolution "calling for a big meeting of delegates to be held at the Fifth Avenue Hotel on the afternoon of Thanksgiving Day, when some action may be taken in the interest of the federation."[71]

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[68] Malone, "Catholic Citizens and Constitutional Rights," op. cit., 599.

[69] LI (October 13, 1900), 472.

[70] "The First Step," ACHS Researches, XXII (January, 1905), 12-13. Others at the meeting were Jacob Miller, Allentown, Pa., President of the League of German CKA; James Flaherty, State Deputy, KC; John C. Maguire (McGuire), Brooklyn, President of the Catholic Benevolent Union; and a priest from Denver. Vital statistics are not given consistently; cf. Standard and Times, September 22, 29, 1900.

[71] NYFJ, September 29, 1900; Standard and Times, September 29, 1900.

The paths of Bishop McFaul and the societies had met. In each case cited above, the name of the Bishop of Trenton was mentioned in the same proceedings in which the report of the Committee on the Federation of Catholic Societies was discussed. Bishop Messmer published a plan of federation before the meeting scheduled for Thanksgiving Day in which he advocated a Supreme Council, House of Delegates and Membership of Societies. He desired to defend and promote Catholic interests on religious, social and civic lines, and believed that all could be solved by a truly Catholic spirit inspiring purity of intention and charity of execution.[72] Neither Messmer nor McFaul indicated his intention to attend the New York meeting.[73]

On November 29, 1900, Preuss quoted an article from the Sacred Heart Review of November 17 showing a connection between the federation movement and the avoidance of "Americanism." Both papers stated that, according to McFaul, Catholics had been wasting energy and accomplishing but little. Many, therefore, like the Catholics of England, had been "forever explaining away and whittling down the meaning of Catholic doctrine." Consequently, both papers "hailed the Apostolic Brief 'Testem benevolentiae,' (sic) which was directed against this pernicious tendency, not only as an important doctrinal pronouncement, but as a providential basis of energetic practical Catholic action in this country."

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[72] Review, November 15, 1900.

[73] NWC, November 24, 1900. Errors in some accounts in newspapers make it difficult to draw valid conclusions. For example, NYFJ attributed inauguration of the movement to the Ohio Catholic Knights of America, October 6, 1900. The Review misquoted McFaul and misinterpreted his meaning. NWC usually reported the news correctly, but interpreted variously.

Whether the federation movement would be "energetic practical Catholic action" was not clear to Gibbons who expressed his doubts about the proposed union in a letter to Ireland marked "Private":

> Your favor in regard to the proposed meeting in N. York has just come to hand.
>
> Of course it is premature to pronounce a judgment on the possible effects of the resolutions to be adopted until we see them.
>
> But a priori, I have serious misgivings regarding the wisdom of the measure.
>
> If the leaders of the movement had, in the beginning restricted the union of the societies to purely religious, moral and economic purposes, its effect would be beneficial.
>
> But from the start, a political plank was inserted in the platform which was at once seized hold of by our enemies, & severly (sic) criticized.
>
> It is true that the promoters of the scheme have disclaimed any intention of making the organization subserve political objects further than defending Catholic interests. But I think the disclaimer comes rather late. It will be quoted by our enemies as sixteen to one was quoted against Bryan, & we know how little denials availed. 16 to 1 was fatal to Bryan. The enemy always tries to find a weak link in a chain.
>
> I fear that the effect of the proposed coalition will be to unite the neutral population as well as the sects against us. Attacks on the Catholic Church are always popular. A pretext is eagerly seized; & public feeling is easily aroused. The public will deny that we have such grievances as call for so formidable a phlanx (sic). They will say that we are better treated than in France or Italy, & it may be harder for us to elect Catholics than even at the present time.
>
> I say nothing of the danger of politicians perverting the organization to their own selfish ends.

> These are views which occur to me which you will regard as confidential.[74]

Unaware of Gibbons' sentiments about federation, nineteen societies representing a total membership of approximately one million sent fifty delegates to the meeting at the Fifth Avenue Hotel in New York on Thanksgiving Day, 1900. In addition to the seven organizations represented at the June and September meetings, these societies sent delegates: Catholic Total Abstinence Union of America (Reverend D.F. McGillicuddy), Catholic Mutual Benevolent Association (John J. Hynes), Central German Catholic Verein (Nicholas Gonner), League German Catholic Societies of Pennsylvania (Jacob Miller and Reverend John Seimetz), of New York (Louis J. Kaufman), of Illinois, (Theodore B. Thiel), of New Jersey (John B. Oelkers), Federation of Catholic Societies of Pittsburgh Diocese (Fred W. Immekus, representing ninety societies), Catholic Young Men's National Union (Reverends F.H. Wall, M.J. Lavelle, Malick Cunnion, William T. McGuirl, and Hon. John J. Fitzgerald), American Society for Visiting Catholic Prisoners (A.A. Boyle), Emerald Beneficial Society (George W. Gibbons), and the Knights of Columbus (Judge G.T. Roesch and Thomas McKenna).[75]

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[74] Baltimore, November 23, 1900, Ireland, AASP. The Cardinal's punctuation has not been altered in this copy.

[75] Proceedings of the Meeting of Several Catholic Organizations, held in New York, Thanksgiving Day, November 29, 1900, AACHS, AAD, typed copy in writer's possession. Kaufman's and Thiel's names are frequently spelled differently. NYFJ for December 8, 1900, lists eleven societies present. Coghlan, "Impact," p. 97, quotes McFaul's contribution to this meeting from NYFJ, December 1, 1900; but this was not a speech. It was a pre-publication article read before the assembly. The article later appeared in AER for December, 1900.

Neither Messmer nor McFaul attended the New York meeting, but both sent letters of encouragement and endorsement. After the first few minutes, the delegates asked the press to withdraw and continued their business in secret. Having been elected in Philadelphia as Chairman, Henry J. Fries conducted the meeting and John J. O'Rourke continued as Secretary. Fred Immekus of Pittsburgh wanted matters clarified about organization. Since the Pittsburgh Federation had been organized along diocesan lines, Immekus believed that the best plan of action. However, Father Cunnion of New York was of the opinion that the delegates should form immediately a national federation, and his motion was carried unanimously.

Father Cunnion also formulated the objects of the federation as they had been expressed earlier in Philadelphia: "the cementing of the bonds of fraternal union among the Catholic laity and Catholic Societies of the United States: the fostering of works of Religion, piety education (sic) and charity: the study of conditions in our social life; and the dissemination of truth." Once these objects were clear, Mr. McKenna of Long Branch, New Jersey, wondered who was to endorse the principle of the defense of and the material benefit to the Catholic people of the United States. He further questioned how the principle was to be promulgated. To him another problem was the safeguarding of the interests of individual societies.

Fear that another organization of the same type would be formed was expressed by Reverend John Seimetz of Catasauqua, Pennsylvania. Judge Roesch of New York thought this fear could be dispelled if the organization avoided the "aimlessness of the publicity" which had preceded the New York meeting. To counteract the poor publicity, the Judge recommended that individual invitations be sent to every society in the country to attend a Congress of Catholic Societies in Cincinnati on Tuesday, May 7, 1901, to discuss the objects proposed by Father Cunnion. Judge Roesch also recommended that individual societies be admitted to membership whether or not they belonged to national organizations.

After recommending that Bishop Messmer's plan of federation be circulated among the various societies, the delegates appointed three committees. A Committee of three, Fathers Wall and Cunnion and Mr. McKenna, were to prepare a press report to satisfy the reporters waiting outside. Then two Committees of Ten, one on Plan and Scope, and the other on Organization, were appointed. Thomas McKenna was Chairman of the first, and John J. Fitzgerald was Chairman of the second.[76]

The publicity of the meeting reached numerous national organizations very quickly. The Northwestern Chronicle for December 15, 1900, announced that the Catholic Total Abstinence

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[76] Proceedings, op. cit.; cf. NYFJ, NWC, December 8, 1900; New York Times, November 30, 1900.

Union would join the Federation[77] if certain principles were adhered to: independence of the Holy See, advancement of religious education, apostolate and maintenance of Catholic doctrine. Reverend Alexander P. Doyle, C.S.P., General Secretary of CTAU, sympathized "with the idea of federation but not on the basis of any grievance." He affirmed the necessity of a positive program which would have for its purpose the advancement of Catholic interests by developing a greater activity among laymen. An interesting question was posed by Reverend J. B. Delaney of The Guidon who wanted to know how grievances of a political nature could be considered without recourse to political redress.[78]

It was that sort of problem which the International Catholic Truth Society wanted to solve. Actually the ICTS thought it was already sufficiently well organized to become the channel through which grievances might be cleared either on the local, state or national level. According to this plan, a representative would quietly present the matter to the authorities and ask for justice. If that expedient failed, a formal protest would be launched with the approval of the hierarchy through a Board of Directors representing all affiliated societies.[79]

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[77] Federation is used with or without the article in the literature of the topic, even when the word is capitalized. A history of the organization was prepared by the only National Secretary, but omissions, misspelled names, and sometimes exaggerated optimism make it merely a skeleton guide. It appeared in Illinois Catholic Historical Review, IX (January, 1927), 247-259; X (July, 1927), 38-47; X (January, 1928), 261-275; XI (October, 1928), 156-165; XI (July, 1928), 56-65; XI (January, 1929), 251-263; XI (April, 1929), 349-363; Mid-America, I (July, 1929), 82-97; II (October, 1930), 169-182; II (January, 1931), 269-287.

[78] Quoted in AER, XXIV (1901), 209-210. The original article could not be located.

McFaul had no objection to the plan submitted by the ITCS which would keep the political aspect of federation within the limits of "procuring of a position, now and then, for members" of individual societies.[80] Nor did he reject the skeleton plan submitted by the Pittsburgh AFCS for organization along diocesan lines.[81] The Bishop himself kept interest in federation alive by articles in newspapers and magazines and by correspondence with his Metropolitan.

Not opposed to the idea of amalgamation of societies, Archbishop Corrigan reported to his Trenton Suffragan on the Archbishops' Meeting of 1900, "Archbishop Ryan introduced the subject [of federation] by introducing some general, whose name escapes me....The Archbishop was in favor of some such union, but expressed the fear that it might lead to politics....After a few remarks by others, the subject was dropped without resolution or action."[82]

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[79] International Catholic Truth Society, Second Annual Report, 1901, (Brooklyn, n.d.), pp. 39-40.

[80] McFaul to Heuser, Trenton, January 11, 1901, Heuser, AACHS, on microfilm AUND.

[81] Skeleton Plan for a National Federation of Catholic Societies (Pittsburgh, n.d.), AACHS, on microfilm, AUND; cf. Review, May 16, 1907.

[82] Corrigan to McFaul, New York, January 17, 1901, Corrigan, AANY. The Archbishops had agreed not to discuss any matter not previously taken up with their suffragans, and this precluded discussion on federation. However, the Archbishops' minutes reveal no discussion on federation until the beginning of World War I.

Some laymen, too, had doubts about the future of the federation. An unidentified delegate at the New York conference wrote to The Review on January 24, 1901, that he very much feared "that the project [was going to] die abornin' in consequence of jealousy between the various societies." He approved of diocesan representation so that all societies might share equally.

Apparently McFaul addressed a letter to all members of the hierarchy stating his own position and asking for advice and opinions. To Archbishop Ireland he wrote:

> I believe that there are few members of the Hierarchy opposed to a Union which will tend towards the advancement of Catholics along social, civil, and religious lines. The main difficulty which confronts us is - How to effect a Union which will attain legitimate ends without exciting hostility on the part of non-Catholics....
>
> I have suggested a solution, and outlined several plans of Federation which I thought feasible....I have never gone beyond the position of an adviser. I think the safest plan is to permit the movement to be a layman's movement; nevertheless I am satisfied that it would be a garve (sic) mistake for the clergy to stand aside, merely taking the part of spectators, while the laymen proceeded without proper direction and control....
>
> [The Committee on Plan and Scope] will call on me, in a few days, for advice as to the meeting already announced for May 7, 1901, in Cincinnati....
>
> I have concluded that Federation should be encouraged, at least, for social and religious ends...[that] Federation would reach out towards the ends pursued by the Young Men's Christian Association.
>
> Some think that no movement among the laity should be encouraged unless it first receives the public sanction of the Hierarchy. I am of opinion (sic) that it would be unwise for the Archbishops and Bishops of the U.S. to agitate in a body for Federation, seeing that non-Catholics think we are desirous of forming a Catholic political party; whereas nothing is farther from our intention. Political parties, as such, are a matter of indifference to Federation and party affiliations would remain intact.

> Grievances...would not be touched upon by the Federation, unless *by the advice* and *at the request of*, the Archbishops assembled in their annual meetings.
>
> If a public protest against injustice were requested by the Archbishops, the paramount advantages of Federation would be immediately apparent. The voices of millions of Catholics raised in protest, within a few days, could not fail to make an impression. If *(sic)* might not secure, just at that particular moment, what we had been refused; but, next time, we would receive that attention which is due our position and influence. At all events, we are not likely to receive unless we ask....
>
> Up to this time, when we have appealed for our rights *(sic)* we have been regarded merely as so many respectable and, to some extent, influential American citizens. How much strength would have been added to our position had there been an organization, and, therefore, a visible body behind us!.... [To see the power of organization, look] what the Women's Christian Tem. Association affected even against the better judgment of Congress...It would be too bad if Federation be accomplished without us, or that the laity, with the best intentions, because not properly directed, should perfect the orgainization *(sic)* on lines that could not meet with the approbation of the Hierarchy....
>
> I come to you for counsel, so that nothing may be done which might afterwards be found worthy of condemnation...Be assured that your reply will be strictly confidential.[83]

Five days later, on March 26, 1901, Ireland replied in kind but clear terms:

> I believe - and I speak after much consideration and some talk with other Bishops - that at the present juncture at least, the proposed Federation would be hurtful. Whatever may be said of a union of Catholic Societies for purely religious, moral and social purposes, a Federation of such Societies for anything bordering in the most remote manner on politics, is to be diplocated [written above this

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[83] McFaul to Ireland, Trenton, March 21, 1901, Ireland, AASP, photostatic copy in writer's possession; cf. McFaul to Keane, Trenton, October 6, 1901, Keane, ADR (AUND).

word is deprecated7. An organization on our part that would have the least appearance of a political nature would be taken up as an argument in approval of the now dead A. P. A.'s, and would most likely revive this most anti-catholic (sic) society. We must admit that there is, alas, among too many of our fellow citizens a hidden dread and hatred of the Catholic Church. Do what we may, we cannot persuade those people that the Church is not in itself a political organization, reaching out for political power....A pretext only is needed to bring at any moment into a concrete form this dread and hatred of the Catholic Church. A Federation with a tinge of politics would give the pretext.. Practically such an organization on our part would make it impossible in many places for Catholics to be elected to office or to hold any public position....

Now you will say that the proposed Federation is be entirely outside of politics. It is too late to say this of it. When it was first proposed the idea went out that it was to be more or less political, and all the protests you might now make will not take away that idea. Indeed, your own first article helped not a little to beget this idea, and many of those who wrote or spoke in favor of the Federation, quoted the centrum in Germany and mentioned the need of massing catholic (sic) votes; and even if nothing of this kind had ever been mentioned, it is not possible in my belief to bring into the Federation our existing catholic (sic) societies without sooner or later an effort be made by knowing politicians to control their action. Our societies are not always ruled by the best catholic (sic) lay thought of America. They are made up usually of our good, simple catholic (sic) men, who have no prudence, who are accustomed in their own localities to be ruled by political bosses, and who are often fire-eating nationalists, Irish or German, and ready to spread over their nationalism the cloak of religion....

I am sure for myself that our Catholic Newspapers have exaggerated immensely the grievances. They use those grievances for political purposes, and in administrative quarters have only caused painful and resentful irritation. We are after all, but a minority; and that minority, do our best, cannot be united in a solid phalanx....By precaution and prudent representatives, we may gain our rights much better than by any political agitation....If anything of this kind were ever attempted, I should wish something like a Catholic Union in each diocese, which Union would be made up of the best and most conservative catholics (sic), but I never would have

> questions which might be discussed by such a Union put before the rough and tumble societies such as would enter into your proposed Federation.
>
> I go further, and I say that even on religious and social lines our existing societies are not ripe for Federation. There would be at once a race between them for national superiority, and in this race before very long the Celt would be beaten out of sight and the whole Federation would be a one-sided affair, wearing a most foreign aspect and a most ungracious one to the eye of the American.
>
> The proposed Federation has gone very far, and I do not believe it would be wise to oppose it openly and directly. What might be done at the Cincinnati meeting would be to say that it is better to wait a while, to consider the matter better, to have the opinions of more Bishops, and in this manner to kill it out by Fabian policy, and the Federation killed out, a movement could be started for Catholic Unions, such as they have in England with great benefit to religion, and such as in many places of America we had some twenty years ago...
>
> I think that if I had a conversation with you I would show you that in some things you call grievances, Catholics themselves are to blame. As, for instance, in the matter of Catholic Chaplains, and also in no small measure as to the loss of appropriations for Indian Catholic Schools.[84]

How closely the language of Ireland's letter resembles that of Gibbons to Ireland of November 23, 1900!

McFaul accepted Ireland's advice; but instead of killing the Federation by the "Fabian policy," McFaul suggested to Archbishop Elder, in whose Archdiocese the first Convention was to be held, that the meeting should be postponed until after the "Archbishops...discuss the subject, at their meeting in November."[85]

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[84] Ireland to MaFaul (sic), St. Paul, March 26, 1901, Ireland, (copy), AASP. Ireland had sent a circular letter to all bishops in 1890, asking each one to supply Catholic chaplains for the armed services, but the replies had been negligible, Ireland to Elder, St. Paul, December 1, 1890, Elder, AAC.

[85] McFaul to Elder, Trenton, April 9, 1901, Elder, AAC.

In the meantime, the Committee on Plan and Scope visited McFaul in Trenton in April, 1901, as the Bishop had told Ireland. A sub-committee report, signed by Fathers Cunnion and Wall, was read.[86] Then the assembled Committee agreed to postpone the Convention until later in the year because "Catholics in general [had] not taken much interest in the movement," as The Review of May 9, 1901, asserted. Another preliminary meeting was planned for August where it would be decided whether to hold the Convention in the fall.

By the summer of 1901, Catholic societies were taking a position on federation. The Knights of St. John, meeting in Cincinnati, gave federation "earnest consideration."[87] McFaul's letter on federation was read at the Convention of the Catholic Knights of America in St. Louis[88] and at the ICBU Convention in Plymouth, Pennsylvania.[89] Daniel Duffy, President of the ICBU, had been at the Philadelphia and New York federation meetings and gave a report of the business completed in those places.[90]

On August 28 and 29, 1901, the Federation Committees met at Long Branch, New Jersey, and drafted a tentative Constitution from the several plans submitted. Fred Immekus and P. H. McGuire of Pittsburgh offered a resolution that federation was feasible and practicable, which was adopted after much discussion. Henry Fries and John O'Rourke were empowered to issue an official call to the officers and members of all Catholic societies in the United States inviting them to attend the first National Convention of the American Federation of Catholic Societies to be held in Cincinnati beginning on December 10, 1901.[91] Bishop McFaul was present at the meeting and approved the call,[92] and Bishop Messmer sent his approval also.

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[86] NYFJ, April 20, 1901.
[87] NWC, July 6, 1901.
[88] NYFJ, April 20, 1901.
[89] ICBU Proceedings, 1901, p. 30.
[90] Ibid., pp. 11-12.

The call invited every society "whether a member of a National, State or Diocesan union or not," to send two delegates and become a member of the Federation "upon payment of Five Dollars."[93] To officers of organizations the call included the *Proceedings* of the Long Branch meeting as well as credential blanks for the delegates.

Meeting in Bridgeport, Connecticut, in September, 1901, the Central Verein discussed the Long Branch meeting and federation in general. The delegates devoted a long period to the difference between federation and centralization.[94] Nicholas Gonner, President of the Central Verein, told the delegates that the Germans had accepted Messmer's plan of federation with the understanding that German societies would retain their positions on all major issues.[95] President Gonner displayed some hesitancy about allowing CV locals to send delegates to Cincinnati, but the matter was not settled at Bridgeport.[96]

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[91] "Catholic Lay Action," *HRS*, XXX (1939), 151-152.

[92] O'Rourke to Martinelli, Philadelphia, September 21, 1901, Martinelli, AAD; O'Rourke to "Dear Sir," Philadelphia, September 23, 1901, AANY. An additional note was sent to Corrigan assuring him that there was no intention of forming a political party, September 27, 1901. This same note may have been sent to others, but none have been found.

[93] *Proceedings of the American Federation of Catholic Societies of the United States*, Held at Long Branch, N.J., on August 28 and 29, 1901 (Philadelphia, 1901); on microfilm, AUND; cf. *NWC*, September 14, 1901.

[94] 46*GV*, 1901, pp. 15ff.

On October 26, 1901, Gonner and Peter Bourscheidt, Secretary of the Central Verein, sent a circular informing all local and state unions of the Central Verein that the Verein would send only two delegates from the national Union to Cincinnati.[97] This raised a tumult among the German press and state unions (Staatsverbaende) which were not affiliated with the Central Verein. Until five days before the opening of the First National Convention of the American Federation of Catholic Societies on December 10, 1901, The Review kept the dispute alive. Gonner finally acknowledged that he had not meant to exclude state unions by his statement, but he did believe that a limited number of experienced delegates was preferable to a mass of promiscuous representatives.[98]

French-Canadians were more opposed to the Federation than the Germans. They objected to the attempts being made to hasten their assimilation into the American way of life, the problem of languages, and the failure of the bishops to appoint French-speaking clergymen to provide for their spiritual needs. At their Springfield, Massachusetts, meeting in October, 1901, C. E. Boivin of Fall River said that the Federation "must not count upon a single French-American Society whose members [had] followed up recent events in the Catholic Church in the United States and [had understood] their meaning." The French American meeting adjourned without making a resolution on federation, but the delegates stated that they refused to support an "extravagant pan-Saxonism."[99]

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[95] Ibid., p. 25.

[96] Ibid., p. 124.

[97] Review, October 31, 1901.

[98] Ibid., October 31, 1901 to December 5, 1901, passim; cf. Joseph Matt, "The Central Bureau: Fifty Years of Achievement," SJR, LI (March, 1959), 390-392; LII (April, May, June, 1959), 33-35, 70-71, 106-107; Gleason, "Central-Verein," pp. 124ff.

To some Protestants, especially the Congregationalists, the proposed Federation meant the formation of a political party. No Protestant denomination opposed the Federation openly, but, according to the Boston Pilot, certain individual Protestants, whose "religion is chiefly opposed to Catholicity" formed the National Patriotic Federation with headquarters at Washington. The object of this Patriotic Federation was to oppose the "Federation of Roman Catholic Societies" and to protect American institutions. Furthermore, it planned to "oppose everything tending to a union of Church and State, everything inimical to our free non-sectarian public schools" and any "usurpation, or attempted usurpation, of arbitrary power."[100]

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[99] Review, October 31, 1901; cf. Jules Tardival, La Situation Religieuse aux États-Unis (Montreal, 1900), Chapter IX, for a discussion pro and con assimilation, and for the failure of Americans to follow the wish of Leo XIII in providing for the souls of foreign born by priests who spoke their language; also Alvin Stauffer, "Anti-Catholicism in American Politics, 1865-1900," (Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Harvard University, 1933), p. 195, microfilm, UND Library.

In 1901, too, in Philadelphia, the National Federation of Churches was formed. This Federation had been in process of uniting a number of Protestant religions into a loose union since 1890. In 1901 a Committee of Twenty-Five was circulating questionnaires and exchanging literature among the various denominations of the "Churches of Christ" with an aim at complete federation.[101] Another type of federation was non-sectarian. Formed to attempt solutions to capital-labor difficulties by accepting members from both groups, the National Civic Federation organized in New York in 1901.[102]

The year, 1901, seemed to be auspicious for the promoters of federation movements. For Catholics in particular it marked the culmination of twelve years of effort on the part of the bishops and laymen interested in uniting Catholics through the federative movement. The first suggestion had been made before the First Catholic Congress, and later proposals had dotted the interval between 1889 until 1901.

In the circular of the Knights of St. John, the federation was likened to the Catholic Union of Great Britain; and in the Proceedings of the Thanksgiving Day meeting, the proposed Convention at Cincinnati was called the Congress of Catholic societies.

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[100] Quoted in Review, October 10, 1901.

[101] Edgar C. Bundy, Collectivism in the Churches (Wheaton, Ill., 1958), pp. 1-8. Hereafter cited as Bundy, Collectivism.

[102] NCFR, I (April, 1903), (June, 1904), pp. 13-14, passim.

The delegates at the New York meeting were uncertain about the real structure of the federation, but they did agree about the aims. This Federation was to be the means of uniting Catholics through the societies for the purpose of charitable, religious and pious works and for the study of the social life.

The mere calling of the first National Convention in Cincinnati in December, 1901, did not solve any of the problems which faced the new organization, but it did show to Catholics and non-Catholics alike that unity was desired. Much remained to be clarified in the minds of the delegates of affiliating societies, but only by meeting and discussing differences could matters like representation, dues, autonomy, etc. be settled.

CHAPTER IV

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF CATHOLIC SOCIETIES - 1901-1911

When the first National Convention of the American Federation of Catholic Societies met in Cincinnati on December 10 to 12, 1901, it was, indeed, a congress of Catholic societies. The form of the meeting followed the same pattern used by the affiliated societies in their annual conventions while at the same time it established an order of business for the new Federation.

The nearly three hundred delegates met in the lobby of the Grand Hotel in Cincinnati on the morning of December 10, and from there marched to St. Peter's Cathedral escorted by a uniformed detachment of the Knights of St. John. With Archbishop William Elder of Cincinnati presiding, Bishop Ignatius Horstmann of Cleveland celebrated the pontifical Mass. In addition to Bishops McFaul and Messmer, Bishop Camillus Maes of Covington was in the sanctuary. Reverend Michael Lavelle, Rector of St. Patrick's Cathedral in New York, delivered the sermon. This religious ceremony was followed by two days of public and private meetings and an evening mass meeting.

In the Odd Fellows Temple the first public meeting was held under the joint auspices of Archbishop Elder and the Ohio State Federation with Thomas B. Minahan, President, in the chair. On the platform were Governor George Nash of Ohio and Mayor Fleischman of Cincinnati, Archbishop Elder, Minahan and Anthony Matre, Secretary of the Ohio Federation. Matre introduced the Governor, the Mayor, and then Minahan who welcomed the delegates in the name of the Ohio Federation which had been in existence since December 9, 1900.[1]

In his speech Minahan emphasized the fact that the Federation was not a political organization but that the delegates should be invited "to unity of action" for "larger usefulness along social, educational, fraternal and moral lines." The Federation, according to Minahan, should stress the positive approach: "So much has been said as to what the belief and practices of Catholic citizens *are not*, we especially aim to illustrate what they *really are*."[2]

Bishop Horstmann also welcomed the delegates to the Convention and said that the idea of federation had been in his mind since 1867,[3] to which McFaul later added that the thought had "occupied the attention of laymen for over ten years."[4] McFaul likewise strengthened Minahan's arguments that the Federation was not a political organization. Instead, he mentioned, members should expect from the Federation a breakdown of racial and nationality differences, an exchange of ideas, greater strength through unity, opportunities to discuss mutual problems and needs, and their solutions and improvements. The AFCS would also give the correct Catholic opinion on timely topics, encourage the Catholic press and the support of Catholic education.[5] Above all, said McFaul, "We need an apostolate of the laity.... The propagation of truth, the promotion of our interests, must not be left to the clergy alone."[6] For the purpose of aiding the layman in this work, McFaul and Messmer had interested themselves in the federation movement.[7]

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[1] *Proceedings of the Convention of the American Federation of Catholic Societies* held at Cincinnati, December 10,11, and 12, 1901 (Cincinnati, 1902), pp. 4-6. Hereafter cited as *AFCS Proceedings.* The first four years' *Proceedings,* though published separately, have been collected into one volume. No others were published, as such. These are on microfilm at AUND. Cf. *Proceedings of the Third Annual Convention of the Catholic Federation of Ohio* (Cincinnati, 1903 [?]), p. 1, on microfilm, AUND.

[2] *AFCS Proceedings,* 1901, pp. 6-8; *NWC,* December 21, 1901.

[3] *AFCS Proceedings,* 1901, p. 11.

[4] *Ibid.,* p. 12.

After the welcoming addresses had been completed, Henry J. Fries, Provisional Chairman of the AFCS, presided over the business meeting. He appointed Thomas McKenna, Chairman of the Committee on Plan and Scope, as Chairman of the Credentials Committee; and Thomas W. Fitzgerald of New York as Chairman of the Committee on Constitution. McKenna and his Committee found much confusion among the representatives because apparently the qualifications for membership in the AFCS had not been understood by all delegates. Eventually, they brought order out of chaos by seating some representatives with doubtful credentials and all priests without credentials, and the business proceeded.

The Proceedings listed the roll call according to individual societies within states, and it was difficult to determine whether a representative was a delegate for a local, state or national organization. Many branches of the Ancient Order of Hibernians, Catholic Knights of America, Knights of Father Matthew, Young Men's Institute, Catholic Order of Foresters, Knights of Columbus, Catholic Knights and Ladies of America, Knights of St. George, Irish Catholic Benevolent Union and Emerald Benevolent Association were listed, as well as such parish organizations as St. Joseph's Society and St. Fidelis Benevolent Society. Local groups of the Federation of Catholic Societies of Evansville, Pittsburgh and other places sent delegates.[8] The Review for January 9, 1902 stated that there were approximately three hundred in attendance, but the Chronicle for December 14, 1901, estimated nearer five hundred. According to voting tallies the representation must have been about two hundred fifty.

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[5] Ibid., pp. 13-14.

[6] Ibid., p. 15.

[7] Ibid., p. 12; NYFJ, November 2, 1901.

W. E. Keehan of Ohio headed a Committee on Rules and Regulations which adopted an order of business closely related to the agenda adopted earlier by the Catholic Unions: prayer, appointment and report of Committee on Credentials, roll call, minutes, appointment of other committees (Press, Constitution, Resolution, Rules of Order, Finance, Ways and Means), reports of officers, resolutions and communications, reports of committees in order of appointment, nomination and election of officers, prayer and adjournment. The Rules laid down prescriptions for referring resolutions and communications to the proper committees, limiting delegates to five minutes on the floor (later amended to three unless the delegate was giving a committee report) and to speaking only once on a topic. Cushing's Manual of Parliamentary Law became the standard for conducting each meeting.[9]

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[8] AFCS Proceedings, 1901, pp. 21-32.

The Chairman appointed the other committees, and then the Convention heard the report of the Financial Committee which had been appointed at Long Branch. After all bills had been paid, the Federation had on hand $42.25.[10] It would be up to the Ways and Means Committee to find the method that would support the Federation in the days to come. The Federation had paid its early bills by accepting voluntary contributions from the Long Branch delegates.

Before the Committee on Constitution made its report, Messmer warned the assembled delegates that this was a critical time for the Federation; and he advised them that they would have to make many concessions.[11] Actually, the delegates made very few changes in the Constitution which had been compiled from among the many suggestions offered for consideration. The word "men" was deleted from the Article on membership by a vote of 157 to 80 even though the German delegation was opposed to the inclusion of women. Notably against the measure were Nicholas Gonner, John Oelkers of New Jersey, George Koelble of New York, and John Ankenbauer of Ohio.[12]

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[9] Ibid., pp. 20-21.

[10] Ibid., p. 33. On January 2, 1961, the present writer had an interview at Notre Dame with the two surviving sons of Anthony Matre, Francis and Richard. Francis Matre worked for several years with his father on Federation business. The Matres agreed that the financial history of the Federation is impossible to understand, and Francis added that the Federation never had enough money to warrant a financial policy. Hereafter cited as Interview.

[11] AFCS Proceedings, 1901, p. 35.

The Constitution designated that the name of the organization was to be "The American Federation of Catholic Societies" and the objects

> the cementing of the bonds of fraternal union among the Catholic laity and Catholic Societies of the United States; the fostering of Catholic interests and works of religion, piety, education and charity; the study of conditions in our social life; the dissemination of the truth, the encouragement and spread of Catholic literature, and the circulation of the Catholic press.

Membership was open to all societies of Catholics whose Constitutions had been approved by the Executive Board, and each society would retain its autonomy. Each society was permitted to send two delegates to the National Convention, and national organizations might send delegates-at-large at the proportion of one representative for each thousand members by paying ten dollars admission fee for each delegate. The Federation pledged itself to avoid partisan politics and even the discussion of politics. Furthermore, the Federation would not take part in parades except with the expressed permission of the Executive Committee. Finally, an attendance of fifty delegates would constitute a quorum. In order to present amendments, delegates had to send them in writing to the Executive Committee at least five days before a National Convention so that the amendments might be approved by a majority of the Executive Committee before being voted on.[13] The Constitution was accepted, and the Committee on Constitution received a rising vote of thanks.[14]

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[12] Ibid., p. 38. Gleason, "Central-Verein," p. 121, cites a letter of Oelkers to the Review, IX (1902), p. 219, in which Oelkers "declared that the admission of women to the AFCS betrayed a complete misunderstanding of the function the organization was to perform." Oelkers spoke of some misunderstanding, but it was not complete. SHR for September 21, 1899, distinguished between societies for men and associations for women, but the SHR made no clarification of the difference between societies and associations. The objection might go back to the perennial cry that women are more faithful to organizational work than men and force men out once the women take over.

Since Theodore Roosevelt had become President of the United States after the assassination of William McKinley in September, 1901, the delegates decided to send Roosevelt a letter of congratulations upon his assuming office.[15] The Chairman of the Convention then read a cablegram from Leo XIII through M. Cardinal Rampolla granting "Apostolic Benediction to the American Federation of Catholic Societies assembled in National Convention in the city of Cincinnati."[16]

The next business was the report of the Nomination Committee whose slate was accepted almost unanimously. Officers for the next year included Thomas B. Minahan of Columbus, Ohio, President; Louis B. Kauffman of New York, Thomas H. Cannon of Chicago, and Daniel Duffy of Pennsylvania as the three Vice-Presidents; Anthony Matre of Cincinnati as Secretary; Henry B. Fries of New York as Treasurer; Christopher O'Brien of Illinois as Marshal; and a seven-man Executive Board or Committee: Nicholas Gonner of Dubuque, Gabriel Franchère of Chicago, E. D. Reardon of Anderson, Indiana, S. W. Gibbons of Philadelphia, P. E. Maguire of Pittsburgh, M. P. Mooney of Cleveland and M. Fabacher of Louisiana.[17] Such bishops who were interested in the Federation, including Messmer, McFaul and Maes, formed an Advisory Board.

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[13] AFCS Proceedings at Long Branch, 1901, pp. 20-21, on microfilm at AUND; cf. McFaul to Keane, October 6, 1901, op. cit. This Constitution was not printed in the Proceedings of Cincinnati.

[14] AFCS Proceedings, 1901, p. 39.

[15] Ibid., p. 32. Roosevelt's secretary, Cortelyou, replied two days later. The Review for January 9, 1902, wanted to know if this was not partisan politics.

[16] AFCS Proceedings, p. 41.

The Convention passed resolutions of appreciation to McFaul, Messmer and the local hosts and then settled down to finding the means of financing the new federation. After much debate, they decided upon an annual per capita tax of three cents.[18] Fred Immekus of Pittsburgh was certainly not prophetic when he said, "Five cents is too much. It would collect too much money, thus giving a free rein to extravagance."[19]

Finally, according to The Review of January 9, 1902, a "number of commendable, if weak and all too generalizing resolutions were adopted." These were typical of Catholic organizations in 1901: loyalty to the Holy See and to the country; encouragement to the Catholic press, literature and education; recommendation to study the encyclicals; and the spread of fraternal relations among the various Catholic societies in the United States.[20] This last resolution indicated the hope for wider membership in the infant Federation and the desire for better cooperation among the affiliated societies.

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[17] *Ibid.*, pp. 43-49.
[18] *Ibid.*, p. 51.
[19] *Ibid.*, p. 51.

With the exception of a speech on "Socialism" delivered to the mass meeting by Reverend John M. Mackey, Rector of the Cincinnati Cathedral, there was nothing in the Proceedings to indicate that the Federation gave any attention to the social ills of the day. However, the first meeting of the Federation had organization as its main purpose, but the AFCS had chosen a timely topic for Father Mackey to discuss. The entire speech was not printed in full, making it difficult or impossible to evaluate what he said relative to the big problem of socialism. However, since the Socialist party was gaining strength in 1901, it is significant that the Federation devoted time to the topic.

Reporting on December 21, 1901 about the first National Convention of the AFCS, the Chronicle stated that "There was much balloting over the election of officers, the members of the provisional board chosen last winter being largely left out in the cold." The Chronicle interpreted this to mean that "all having political aspirations" had been opposed. Of the same elections The Review for January 9, 1902 said "that the whole work of the convention was [nearly] ruined by the ambition of a few delegates," but Fries, McFaul and Messmer saved the situation.

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[20] Ibid., pp. 53ff.; Review, January 9, 1902.

In its December 21 issue, the Chronicle quoted McFaul's remark that it should be "regarded as an unwritten law that neither the hierarchy nor the political world should be allowed to hold any sway over the organization." And The Review for January 9 said that McFaul asserted, "The approbation of the hierarchy was not requested, because such approbation would have given to the Federation the character of a Church movement, whereas it has originated with the laity and must live or die by their interest in it." In addition, The Review quoted the "Catholic Citizen and other Catholic journals" commenting that the Convention had "deliberately and definitely turned its face away from politics-partisan and otherwise, even refraining from making a list of supposed Catholic political grievances."

The Review for January 9 also quoted Messmer as warning the delegates that the AFCS could not "accomplish everything at once." But the Federation had come into existence despite the numbers of difficulties it still had to face. Father Blied notes, "in structure it resembled the Central Verein and its lectures paralleled those of the defunct Catholic Summer School."[21]

According to the Constitution of the AFCS, the Executive Board was to meet in January of each year with the Advisory Board to discuss any federation business and to prepare for the next annual

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[21] Three Archbishops, p. 104. According to James A. White, The Founding of Cliff Haven, U.S.C.H.S. Monograph Series, ed. J.J.Meng, XXIV (New York, 1950), the Catholic summer schools were still in existence as late as 1910.

Convention. Between any Federation meetings, the ordinary business of the organization was carried on by the National Secretary, Anthony Matre. Immediately after the first Convention, Matre began to send semi-monthly reports to Catholic and secular newspapers in an effort to arouse interest in the Federation so that before the second Convention, scheduled for July, 1902 in Chicago, more societies might feel constrained to join.[22]

Occasionally the Federation received unexpected and unpleasant publicity because of the actions of an individual member of the organization. Such an incident occurred when the Federation President accepted the invitation of Congregationalist Washington Gladden to speak in the latter's church on the "anti-treating" question. The Review criticized Minahan for participating in a Protestant service and for cooperating with Protestants, stating, "As the President of the Federation he is a representative Catholic, whose utterances and acts are subject to public criticism, carefully watched by friend and foe alike."[23] Minahan answered the charge in an open letter to The Review on March 13, 1902; but his language was harsh, and he antagonized the German elements in the Federation.[24]

Within a few months of the first Convention, new societies did affiliate with the Catholic Federation. The Ancient Order of Hibernians decided to "merge its entire membership into the federation at the national convention...in Denver." the following July.[25] State federations were forming in eleven states, and activity could be found in Ponce and San Juan in Puerto Rico.[26] The National Women's League formed after the Columbian Exposition reorganized into the National Federation of Catholic Women's Clubs in Chicago,[27] some of whose societies affiliated with the AFCS. Few councils of the Knights of Columbus joined the Federation,[28] and the Catholic Mutual Benefit Association refused its members permission to speak on the Federation because of the political aspects.[29] Isolated locals of the CMBA had attended the first Federation Convention, however.

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[22] NYFJ, March 1, 8, 1902; Review, March 13, 1902.

[23] March 13, 1902; cf. Gleason, "Central-Verein," p. 122.

[24] Review, May 1, 15, 1902.

The new accessions encouraged the AFCS, and the Executive Board met in June, 1902, to prepare for the second Convention to be held in Chicago, August 5 to 7. At the meeting the officers sent a message to President Roosevelt protesting against the small number of Catholic teachers being sent to the Philippines under the educational program for the islands.[30] Roosevelt wrote an indignant letter to Archbishop Ireland about the number of letters he had received on the subject from bishops and societies, and he expressed his annoyance because he had acted with the approval of both Ireland and Cardinal Gibbons.[31] The President further justified his actions in a letter to Honorable Eugene Philbin, a New York Catholic lawyer, saying, "We have never asked the religion of any teacher sent over there. The teachers nominated by well-known Roman Catholics have been appointed with as great freedom and alacrity as those nominated by anyone else."[32] Later, Clarence Edwards of the Educational Bureau for the Philippines sent a memorandum to M. P. Mooney, Chairman of the Executive Board of the Federation, to show that Roosevelt's assertions were based on fact,[33] but McFaul denied that these statements were true.[34]

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[25] NWC, March 22, 1902; cf. Resolutions offered to Division 19, AOH, by John J. O'Rourke, May 11, 1902, in Philadelphia, AACHS (AUND).

[26] NWC, April 5, 1902; June 14, 1902; cf. Lord, Boston, III, 390.

[27] NWC, April 19, 1902; NYFJ, March 29; April 19, 1902; Thorndike to Ireland, Chicago, November 13, 1902, Ireland, AASP; Louise Girod, "The Catholic Women's Association," CW, LXXII (January, 1901), 497-510.

[28] NYFJ, April 26, 1902.

[29] Review, April 18, 1901; ICBU had joined immediately in 1901, Sister Joan Marie Donohoe, S.N.D., The Irish Catholic Benevolent Union (Washington, 1953), p. 29n.

[30] NWC, June 14, 1902; NYFJ, June 14, 1902.

Although, according to Minahan, on each committee appointed in the first Convention there had been at least one priest, the President felt obliged to note in his call to the second Convention, "many of the clergy have felt that they should not actively forward the matter of organizing. This is a mistake. None more than the clergy should be interested in the success of Federation. While not office-holders, they should at least be represented on the Advisory Boards" of local federations.[35]

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[31] Roosevelt to Ireland, Oyster Bay, July 23, 1902, AHU; AASP.

[32] Roosevelt to Philbin, Oyster Bay, July 12, 1902, AHU; Corrigan, AANY; cf. Taft to Mrs. Storer, Washington, June 21; July 12, 1900, Gibbons, (copies), AAB.

[33] AFCS Proceedings, 1902, p. 63.

[34] Ibid., p. 34. In Ireland to Farley, St. Paul, May 4, 1903, Ireland, AASP, Ireland said that all the teachers he had nominated had been accepted and that he could use many more.

As preparations for the Chicago Convention proceeded, the problem of representation became a vital question. The Federation had been organized along civic lines: local, county, state and national federations. German delegates at Cincinnati had "contended that the various societies of different nationalities should form separate State federations, and these be affiliated with the national body." But this proposition had been defeated, according to The Review of January 9, 1902. In addition, The Review further contended that the policy of the AFCS which allowed direct representation for single societies (two delegates each) was unfair when state federations were limited to one delegate for each thousand members. Actually, the Federation had been generous in inaugurating the pro-rata basis because the Germans had complained earlier that they were under-represented on account of the Gonner-Bourscheidt circular.[36]

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[35] AFCS Proceedings, 1902, p. 4. Rev. S. P. Pfleuger of New York was on Committee of Rules and Regulations; Revs. T. E. Powers of Mass. and A. R. Coopmann of Mont. on Committee for Credentials; McFaul and Revs. F. H. Wall of New York and Norris of Trenton were on Committee on Constitution; Rev. M. L. Guthneck of Indiana on Press; Rev. M. J. Lavelle of New York was Chairman of the Nomination Committee. The Review for January 9, 1902, stated that McFaul would not permit a priest to be nominated for the Executive Committee.

[36] See Gleason, "Central-Verein," pp. 124ff and passim. The question of representation in the AFCS by members of the Central Verein is almost as difficult to understand as the financial situation of the AFCS. The Federation made several concessions to the Verein through the years, but these are not always clear; nor did the Germans ever seem entirely satisfied. The debate published in The Review does not appear in the Proceedings of the AFCS for 1901.

In a letter to the editor of the Chronicle on June 14, 1902, Lorenzo Markoe of White Bear, Minnesota, mentioned the confusion resulting from representation on both the county and state levels. Some societies were organized on the county level, others on state, and this naturally resulted in an inequality of representation in the AFCS. Oelkers of the Central Verein wrote to the Chronicle on April 10, 1902, saying that organization along parish, diocesan and state lines would not interfere with societies of Catholics of different nationalities "who could maintain their own separate unions and collaborate with the national union wherever necessary." This was a plea for organization along ethnic lines, and Oelkers added, "The foundation of the Catholic Church is not the benevolent society but the congregation is."

With the problem of representation hanging in the air, the second National Convention opened in Chicago on August 5, 1902, with a solemn Mass in Holy Name Cathedral celebrated by Auxiliary Bishop Peter J. Muldoon of Chicago. Archbishop Elder and Bishops McFaul and Messmer were in the sanctuary. Bishop Messmer delivered a sermon on the social duties of Catholics as found in the encyclicals of Leo XIII: the duties to teach, spread the faith, help the press, and remedy the evils of society. Unity among Catholics, the Bishop mentioned, would help control evils such as the liquor trade, divorce and some objectionable civil laws.

Continuing, the Prelate said, "socialism is gaining ground from day to day in [the powerful labor unions]...It has come to the point, or at least it will soon come to this, when a Catholic laborer will have to decide between the principles of Christianity and the principles of Socialism, which of themselves are anti-Christian." At that time, then, "the question [would come] before the Catholic laborer to choose...the Church and leave the labor union, or remain in the labor union and leave the Church. He will not be able to serve two masters, and these are two masters."[37] Messmer concluded his sermon by placing upon the federationists the responsibility to help the working man out of his dilemma.

At the first meeting in the afternoon, held in the YMCA Auditorium, Michael Girten, Chairman of the local committee, welcomed the delegates. In his speech he contributed to the already existing confusion about the Federation's purpose by saying, "[The Federation's] motto is not centralization, for centralization is death to individuality. It is 'Federation;' it is only this, 'In essentials let us be united;' 'let us know each other.'"[38] Next, Girten presented Governor Yates of Illinois and then Bishop McFaul.

McFaul insisted that the Federation was "not finding fault with the Administration." However, he also insisted that the Philippine question would have been solved sooner "if there had been close touch with Rome."[39] No doubt the Bishop was referring to the recently successful negotiations between William Taft of the Philippine Commission and the Vatican in which the Vatican accepted a settlement for the Friars' land.

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[37] AFCS Proceedings, 1902, pp. 6-14.
[38] Ibid., p. 17.
[39] Ibid., p. 23.

It is interesting to note the two approaches found in the talks of Bishops Messmer and McFaul. The former brought before his audiences the realization of the social evils which needed solutions, but the latter put great emphasis upon Catholic "grievances." Neither contradicted the other, and they frequently openly supported each other; but the difference is quite apparent. Messmer could be called the "social" Prelate and McFaul the "political." Both, however, spoke frequently about the benefits of "Americanization" to be derived by members of nationality organizations which would affiliate with the Federation.

After Bishop McFaul spoke, Messmer once more addressed the delegates, saying, "Federation will have accomplished a tremendously great work for the good of the Catholic people of this country if it does nothing else but bring those different nationalities together in one great Catholic unity."[40] He then added that the Federation had the duty to educate non-Catholics and the government, as well as itself, by studying the encyclicals.

In the evening, Bishop Muldoon presided at the mass meeting held in the Association Auditorium. McFaul spoke once more, saying this time that the Federation was still in a formative stage but that it had already exerted an influence great enough to stir up public opinion. The successful venture pertained to the repeal of the odious marriage law in Cuba which considered legal only civil marriages.[41] According to McFaul, the Federation intended to continue its agitation to gain justice for the Friars and to safeguard the educational interests of the Filipinos. He cited that, whereas the United States Government had sent 967 teachers to the Philippines, only 18 or 19 had been Catholics, and this, to him, was discrimination. It had been agitation by the Catholic press and societies, he said, that had taken the Friar Question "where it properly belonged and out of the domain of party politics."[42]

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[40] Ibid., pp. 25-26.

Another speaker at the meeting was Nicholas Gonner, President of the Central Verein, who advised the delegates to vote for only practical Catholics as officers of the AFCS. He summarized what he called the Third Plenary Council's definition of a practical Catholic as one who receives the sacraments according to the dictates of the Church, sends his children to Catholic schools and contributes to the support of his parish.[43] Gleason calls this innuendo a revelation of "the German Catholics' bitterness" against Minahan, whom they considered unfit to be President.[44]

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[41] Ibid., p. 31. Apparently Archbishop Donatus Sbaretti, Apostolic Delegate to Cuba, was the most influential element in having the marriage law repealed, NYFJ, May 26, 1900; Brendan A. Finn, Twenty-Four American Cardinals (Boston, 1947), pp. 346-347.

[42] AFCS Proceedings, 1902, pp 31-34; cf. Edwards' reply to Mooney, Ibid., pp. 63-64.

[43] Ibid., p. 38.

[44] "Central-Verein," p. 123. The Germans said that Minahan did not send his children to Catholic school, but Messmer denied this in a speech to the 1902 Convention of Central Verein. In the same speech Messmer said that Minahan had had Bishop Henry Moeller's permission to talk in Gladden's church, 47GV, 1902, p. 91.

An important speaker at the Chicago Convention was Reverend Henry Ganss of the Catholic Indian Bureau. He gave a brief summary of the history of injustices inflicted upon the Indians: their being pushed out of their lands and later being denied citizenship. Then he continued with the following story. President Grant's peace plan had given the Indians a chance to be educated, but in 1895 an "epidemic of satanic hatred" had succeeded in having government aid cut off from sectarian schools. Catholic Indian schools foundered until Katherine Drexel began donating large annual sums, sometimes exceeding $100,000 a year, to keep the schools operating.

Father Ganss showed that the annual Indian and Negro collection amounted to about $80,000 a year from twelve million Catholics, and that that sum had to be divided between the Indian and Negro missions. The Methodist church, he said, raised $89,000 a year for the "perversion" of Bohemians, Italians, Poles, Slavs and other Catholic immigrant groups. According to Ganss, President Roosevelt had done a great deal to help the Indian schools, but he had not done more because Catholics had failed to present their claims in the proper light and under the correct auspices.[45]

The report of the National Secretary, presented next by Anthony Matre, included the minutes of the Executive Board meetings in

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[45] AFCS Proceedings, 1902, pp. 51-56. For a fine exposition of the Indian problem see Father Ganss' articles in the Catholic Mind, "The North American Indian and the Catholic Church," (1903), 23 pp.; "The Indian Mission Problem Past and Present," (July 8, 1904), 325-344. Catholic Mind in those days had no volume numbers.

Cincinnati after the first Convention, and in Columbus, Ohio, on January 26, 1902. Matre read, as part of his report, letters from Cardinal Rampolla imparting the Pope's blessing; from Archbishop Sebastian Martinelli, the Apostolic Delegate; from Cardinal Gibbons, Archbishop Elder and many other Prelates. He listed the permanent state Federations which had been formed in Ohio, New Jersey, Indiana, and Massachusetts, and the nine forming in Pennsylvania, Michigan, Vermont, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Alabama, Illinois and New Mexico. In addition to these, there were three local Federations in Puerto Rico and a large number of county Federations in the United States.[46]

President Minahan presented his report in which he mentioned the resolution passed in the Executive Board meeting of June, 1902, requesting President Roosevelt to put a stop to discrimination against Catholic teachers in the Philippines.[47] But when the Committee on Resolutions made its suggestions, one of the resolutions expressed confidence in Roosevelt to handle Philippine affairs to the satisfaction of Catholics here and in the islands. Furthermore, another resolution contained congratulations to both the Vatican and the American government on successful negotiations, and added that these negotiations should continue.

The resolution on the Indians admitted concern and regret over the conditions of Catholic Indian schools and a promise to support the Society for the Preservation of the Faith among Indian Children. Other resolutions extended sympathy to the religious orders in France during the present persecution, and urged the establishment and support of Catholic high schools in this country wherever practicable.[48]

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[46] AFCS Proceedings, 1902, pp. 56-61; NWC, June 14; April 5, 1902.

[47] AFCS Proceedings, 1902, pp. 62-63.

A long discussion took place about the National Secretary's devoting his full energies to the work of the Federation. Some delegates pointed out that any office in the Federation was for one year only; and it was, therefore, unreasonable to expect a man like Matre, who was a school teacher, to resign a permanent position for one that might last only one year. The delegates then voted to pay the National Secretary a salary of $500 a year for his services to the Federation, and to pay the Treasurer $25 a year.[49]

Money was already scarce in the AFCS. At the beginning of the Proceedings for 1902 there is a note, "the national treasury being pressed to meet running expenses--the printed report of the Proceedings of the Convention has, of necessity, been greatly abbreviated."[50] And yet the per capita tax was reduced to two cents in an effort to attract new members;[51] and a special concession was made to the Central Verein to pay ten dollars per ten thousand members.[52]

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[48] Ibid., pp. 73-75; cf. NYFJ, January 17, 1903, for information about the Society for the Preservation of the Faith among Indian Children.

[49] AFCS Proceedings, 1902, pp. 82-83. Matre took not a cent of salary although he was voted remuneration each year; there was never the means to pay him. Until 1915 he taught school, and after that he received a regular salary as Secretary of the CKA. Interview.

[50] AFCS Proceedings, 1902, inside cover.

Before the meeting adjourned, Messmer addressed the assembled delegates once more. He read a letter from James Ewin, Corresponding Secretary of the Anti-Saloon League, asking that Catholics cooperate with non-Catholics in temperance work. After pointing out that it was against Catholic doctrine to forbid the use of intoxicants, the Bishop asked for a resolution to be adopted permitting cooperation with non-Catholics in checking immoderate drinking and the treating custom. The resolution was passed.[53]

A few minor changes were made in the Constitution in an effort to appease the nationality groups. The Committee on Constitution proposed that representation would be through State Federations or State Leagues or through County Federations where no state organization existed. Wherever five County Federations had been formed in one state, that would constitute a State Federation. The new Constitution provided, too, that the Federation would last so long as there were ten societies in membership. A change in the By-Laws set the date of the National Conventions for the third Tuesday in July each year.[54]

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[51] Ibid., p. 80.

[52] 47 GV, 1902, p. 106. Gleason, "Central-Verein," p. 128, estimates a loss of about $950 a year to the Federation by this concession. Central Verein joined the Federation in 1902.

[53] AFCS Proceedings, 1902, p. 78. In a measure this vindicated Minahan's cooperation with Gladden in the "anti-treating" program. Cf. Gleason, "Central-Verein," p. 124.

There is reason to believe that the second Convention was filled with discord, but there is no hint of friction in the official Proceedings. On July 3, 1902, The Review had announced that the German, French, Polish and Bohemian delegates planned to "put their autonomy demands before the convention unitedly and in definite shape," and the Germans, at least, seemed satisfied with the results of the Federation's Constitutional changes.[55] But the discussions must have been fairly bitter, because at one time the doors of the hall were closed to the public.[56]

The Chronicle for August 23, 1902, quoted the editor of the Providence Visitor as saying that the Convention was "little better than a conventicle of discord." He thought the prelates did a noble job of controlling the delegates, but that it was humiliating to know that chastening was necessary. Furthermore, he continued, there was the added "scandal of the thinly veiled criticism of Archbishop Ireland's relations with Washington," and the deplorable situation in which the Federation patronized the Pope by its wording of the resolution on the Friar question.

Writing for The Messenger /of the Sacred Heart/, Minahan stated later that criticism "within and without made things look unpromising, but the storm was weathered;" but that there had been little "race discord."[57] An editorial in The Messenger for September, 1902, reported that the "delegates were personally and collectively misrepresented day by day by the Chicago newspapers,"[58] possibly because as the Chronicle of August 16, 1902, hinted, the Convention was not "representative of American Catholicity."

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[54] The American Federation of Catholic Societies, Constitution and By-Laws (Cincinnati, 1902), on microfilm, AUND.

[55] 47 GV, 1902, pp. 12-13.

[56] NWC, August 16, 1902.

In May before the Chicago Convention, strikes were called in the anthracite regions of Pennsylvania. These strikes soon crippled the coal industry, and they continued so long that a bleak winter seemed imminent on account of a coal famine. Some federationists appealed "to President Roosevelt to use his influence to settle the coal miners' strike," to help the miners and to prevent prices from going beyond "the reach of persons of moderate circumstances."[59] Roosevelt's handling of the strike won him the title of friend of the laborer.

The Federation also decided to "take corporate action" in Indian work along the lines laid out by Father Henry Ganss, so that in the "system of transferring," Catholic Indian schools would always be assured of a Catholic teacher.[60] In New Jersey a "committee...appeared before the Judiciary Committee of the House and succeeded in having an amendment made to the genral (sic) tax revision act...so that parochial schools [were] included among the exempt properties, as they" had been under existing laws. This was the "first time in its history that the American Federation of Catholic Societies" took part in legislative or governmental affairs, according to the Freeman's Journal of February 21, 1903.

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[57] XXXVIII (October, 1902), 389; also on microfilm, AUND. Cf. Anthony Matre, "Catholic Federation - Its Missions and Results," Dominicana, 3 (December, 1902), 411-413.

[58] XXXVIII, 356.

[59] NYFJ, October 4, 1902; form letters from Pittsburgh and New York Federations to the President, NA; Koelble to the President, New York, September 26, 1902, NA.

[60] Ganss to Hudson, New York, January 30, 1903, Hudson, AUND.

Writing for the Catholic World, William Cantwell, editor of the Monitor, had said, "The archbishops will neither approve nor condemn [Federation], but leave all, as is usual in doubtful matters, to the exercise of that freedom which belongs to them. Later, when the movement has ripened and taken shape, they will speak with no uncertain accent."[61] When it was reported that the Archbishops had discussed the Federation "thoroughly" in their annual meeting in 1902, McFaul was certain that they had merely "considered" the movement.[62] Both McFaul and Matre denied vehemently that the Archbishops had rejected the project, and there was nothing recorded in the minutes of that meeting to indicate that more than a passing comment had been made.[63]

Except for periodic endorsements by individual bishops, the hierarchy had made no collective statement about the federation movement. Cardinal Sebastian Martinelli, the former

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[61] "Is the National Federation of Catholic Societies Desirable?" CW, LXXV (May, 1902, 177; cf. Review, November 21, 1901, for similar sentiments.

[62] NYFJ, May 2, June 27, 1903.

[63] Ibid., May 2, 16, 1903. Minutes of Archbishops' Meeting, AAB.

Apostolic Delegate, had been recalled to Rome in 1902 and had been replaced by an American citizen, Archbishop Diomede Falconio, O.F.M. On December 1, 1902, Matre congratulated Falconio upon his new office and asked a blessing upon the work of the Federation. The Archbishop's reply could hardly be called even an endorsement: "I hope that, in the performance of my duties in this country, I shall have the cooperation and prayers of the members of the Federation. In return I shall offer my own prayers for the success of the organization."[64]

Falconio was still cautious when he replied to Matre's invitation to the Delegate to honor the Federation with his "presence at Atlantic City August 1st. to 5th." (sic)[65] The Archbishop said he could not attend the Convention, but he added, "May God bestow on the Federation his (sic) choicest blessings, and may the convention be productive of much good for the welfare of our holy religion and your beloved country."[66]

In weekly notes to Catholic papers, Matre kept news of the AFCS before the reading public.[67] On April 4, 1903, for example, he announced in the New York Freeman's Journal that the Federation of Kenton County, Kentucky, had objected to an entertainment for Moses Goldsmith where girls, dressed as Sisters of Mercy and

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[64] Falconio to Matre, Washington, December 11, 1902, Falconio, (copy), AAD.

[65] Cincinnati, July 10, 1903, AAD.

[66] Falconio to Matre, Washington, August 13, 1903, Falconio, (copy), AAD. Letters were also exchanged between McFaul and Falconio during July, 1903, AAD.

[67] NYFJ, April 4,11,25; May 16; June 6,27; July 4, 1903.

Sisters of Charity, acted as ushers, then dressed in tights and danced before the guests. The protests were signed by John Ankenbauer of the Federation and by Henry Houck of the Catholic Knights of America Central Committee. Later issues of the *Freeman's Journal* prepared the readers for the coming Convention.

Secular papers, including the Boston *Globe* (August 1, 1903) and the *New York Times* (August 2, 1903), also carried brief notices of the third National Convention. Apparently, Bishop McFaul had encountered difficulties during the preparations for the Atlantic City meeting, and he enlisted the aid of the newly formed Philadelphia Federation to secure speakers, officers of the Mass, etc.[68] He even violated the Constitution and changed the date of the Convention to make it more attractive to the hierarchy, but only McFaul, Messmer, Bishop Benjamin Keiley of Savannah and Archbishop Ryan attended.[69]

The delegates to the Atlantic City Convention, August 1 to 5, 1903, were fewer in number as a result of the Constitutional change limiting representation to State Federations. However, the members of the Convention met in Convention Hall and marched to St. Nicholas Church for the Pontifical Mass celebrated by Bishop Keiley. Father Cantwell of Long Branch, and editor of *The Monitor*, delivered the sermon based upon the phrase, "You are the salt of the earth."[70]

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[68] McFaul to Weber, Trenton, May 9; June 22; July 21, 25, 1903, Weber, AACHS, microfilm at AUND.

[69] *AFCS Proceedings*, 1903, pp. 7 and 42.

At the general meeting, Matre reported that after the Chicago Convention, the Executive Board had appointed National Organizers to report to the National Secretary about the progress of the AFCS in their respective areas. These men, working gratuitously, included Reverend Leader Ross of Louisiana, Otto Siefritz of Wisconsin, H. W. Merwick of Kansas, T. A. Austin and John Galvin of Vermont, D. Sheehan of Massachusetts, M. F. Girten and John Stephan of Illinois, Peter Wallrath and John Finan of Indiana, and E. J. Cooney of Kentucky.[71]

In the evening Reverend William O'Brien Pardow, S.J., of The Messenger, delivered the main speech at the mass meeting in Convention Hall. Speaking on Christian education, Pardow pointed out the weaknesses in the public school system, mainly those stemming from the lack of moral training. Only a few weeks before the Convention, asserted the Jesuit, 35,000 public school teachers had gathered in Boston to protest this very condition. It seemed obvious that the only sound educational system was that in which religion pervaded the atmosphere.[72] Condé Pallen supported this belief, and the Convention adopted a lengthy resolution on education phrased by McFaul and Reverend John J. Wynne, S.J., editor of The Messenger. Although the wording caused some doubt in the mind of Reverend Thomas Burk (sic) of Kansas, the resolution was adopted. In this resolution was incorporated McFaul's perennial proposal on sharing state funds with Catholic schools: let the Sisters and Brothers teach, then let the state examine the students. If the results of the tests meet the standards of the states, then let the state give Catholic schools a share of the educational funds.[73]

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[70] Ibid., pp. 42-48.

[71] Ibid., p. 36.

[72] Ibid., pp. 48-57.

Father Ganss had brought with him to the Convention a Sioux Indian chief, Peter Tall Mandan, who was received with great acclaim by the delegates. The Convention approved the suggestion made in January, 1903, by the Executive Board that all affiliated societies establish the Society for the Preservation of the Faith among Indian Children. Furthermore, the delegates accepted into membership the Sioux and Chippewa Indians who had voted to request affiliation with the Federation at their respective Congresses held in June, 1903.[74]

The chronic question of representation was opened by Fred Immekus of Pittsburgh who accused the Federation of making overtures to the German societies that already belonged to the Central Verein.[75] Immekus had been an early member of the Pioneer Council of the AFCS Diocesan Council in Pittsburgh and also a member of the Staatsverband of Pennsylvania, and he was anxious to preserve harmony between the two organizations, but not at the expense of the Central Verein.[76]

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[73] Ibid., pp. 86, 98, 122-125; see CC, October 14, 1905, for Methodist reaction to this proposal.

[74] ACFS Proceedings, 1903, p. 34.

[75] Ibid., pp. 121-122; 48 GV, 1903, p. 13; Gleason, "Central-Verein," p. 129.

However, Nicholas Gonner, also of Central Verein, did not seem to find the overlapping of the two organizations an insurmountable obstacle. In fact, he appealed to the delegates to form more Catholic societies, especially parish societies. He said that there were too many Catholics outside of societies who should be encouraged to join some worthy Catholic organization.[77]

In addition to the usual resolutions, the Convention declared itself "opposed to all principles subversive of human society, whether they be known as liberalism, socialism, anarchism or by any other term." Also the delegates resolved, "For the preservation of Christian order in society we condemn liberalism because it proclaims the absolute autonomy of the individual or society without due regard for the laws of God."[78] Other resolutions condemned race feuds, mob law and riots, lynching, and the burning or torturing of victims as "barbarism, and as a menace to the peace and security of all good citizens." The delegates endorsed the workingmen's efforts to better their material condition and encouraged them to form special associations for Catholic workingmen, as proposed by Leo XIII in Rerum Novarum.[79]

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[76] In 1903 the Central Verein was in process of reorganizing, and it had accepted as one plan of reorganization the union of locals into state federations. Consequently, the use of the word "federation" is often as ambiguous as the earlier use of the word "union." Cf. CC, June 22, 1907; TCN, June 3, 1905, T-CCR, March 31, 1911; In a letter to the present writer on March 31, 1960, Reverend Robert McNamara, Archivist of St. Bernard's Seminary in Rochester, New York, cited the same difficulty in trying to trace news items about the AFCS in the Catholic Journal.

[77] Proceedings, AFCS, 1903, pp. 118-121.

[78] Ibid., p. 93.

After adopting an official emblem for the Federation,[80] the delegates suggested the establishment of permanent headquarters[81] and raised the National Secretary's salary to $700 a year.[82] They reelected Minahan, Matre and Fries, but they changed the Vice-Presidents to John B. Oelkers of New Jersey, F. Kierce of San Francisco and Edward Feeney of New York.[83] And once again the delegates made a few changes in the Constitution.

With the permission of the Executive and Advisory Boards, the annual Convention might be changed from the third Tuesday in July, but it would have to be held between then and the third Tuesday in August. The $3.00 parish and institution fee found in the first Constitution was dropped, and the provision was made that the AFCS would continue so long as there were twenty-five societies (not ten) in membership.[84]

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[79] Ibid., pp. 92-93.

[80] Ibid., 82, NYFJ, August 8, 1903.

[81] AFCS Proceedings, 1903, p. 121. These headquarters were never established. The nearest the Federation came to central offices were the home and office of Anthony Matre in Cincinnati, Chicago, and St. Louis, as he moved from one city to another. Even though the 1905 Convention voted to established permanent headquarters, this was never done. Interview.

[82] AFCS Proceedings, pp. 126-127, 74, 83, 125.

[83] Ibid., p. 128; Boston Globe, August 5, 1903.

[84] Constitution and By-Laws of the American Federation of Catholic Societies. Revised at Atlantic City, August 1-5, 1903.

In a letter to Father Daniel Hudson, C.S.C., editor of Ave Maria, Father Ganss made some significant remarks about the Federation after the Convention. The Sioux Indian Ganss had brought at his personal expense, he wrote, had hardly "counterbalanced the absence of the Italians,--nor was the delegate from Porto Rico sufficient to cover the void left by the Bohemian, Polander-and Slav in general." The most surprising thing to Ganss was the "apathy and evident repugnance of the Bishops to look upon it with favor,-(a mere letter of endorsement does not show hearty sympathy.)" Ganss knew that fully "six bishops could be found" within a radius of a hundred miles of "Atlantic City... the Mecca of Eastern vacationists," but only McFaul had attended the entire meeting.[85]

Cardinal Gibbons was not in the country at the time of the third Convention of the Federation. Leo XIII had died in the spring of 1903, and Gibbons had gone to Rome to participate in the election of Pope Pius X. The Cardinal had not yet returned from Europe. In New York, Archbishop Corrigan had died in 1902, and his successor, Archbishop John Farley, was preoccupied with administrational duties. Father Ganss mentioned Archbishop Ryan in his letter to Hudson, but he failed to mention that Bishops Keiley and Messmer had been in Atlantic City.

Before the fourth National Convention met in Detroit in 1904, the Federation experienced a repercussion to one of its early

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[85] Atlantic City, August 8, 1903, Hudson, AUND.

"grievances." After the Spanish American War, Catholics, including Bishop McFaul, had agitated for a Catholic to be placed on the Philippine Commission. In 1902, James Smith, a Catholic who had accompanied Taft to the Vatican, filled a vacancy on the Board of Commissioners. But in 1904, Bishop Kendrick of Cebú wrote to Bourke Cockran, the golden-voiced Catholic orator of New York, "Smith...is not only no help to us, but worse than any others against us."[86] And the controversy over Smith's value to Catholics as a Commissioner dragged on for several years.[87]

The delegates to the Convention that opened in Detroit August 2 to 4, 1904, marched from the Cadillac Hotel to St. Mary's Church behind a brass band and escorted by the uniformed detachment of the Knights of St. John. Bishop John Foley pontificated with Archbishops Elder and Messmer, Bishops Maes, McFaul, William Stang of Fall River, and J. J. Hartley of Columbus in the sanctuary. Reverend Patrick O'Brien, pastor of Good Shepherd Church, Toledo, preached on the theme, "Render to Caesar."[88]

At the public meeting held in the Armory of the Detroit Light Guards, the roll call revealed that ten national organizations had affiliated with the Federation: Catholic Order of

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[86] Cebú, August 4, 1904, Cockran, NYPL; Taft to Ireland, Manila, October 17, 1902; Smith to Ireland, Manila, November 14, 1902, (Confidential), Ireland, AASP; CC, January 27, 1906; Roosevelt to Taft, Washington, May 9, 1902, Taft, MD; NYFJ, June 8, 1901.

[87] Egan to Ireland, n.p., February 4, 1906; O'Reilly to Ireland, Manila, October 25, 1906, Ireland, AASP; Rooker to O'Connell, Jaro, April 18, 1906, O'Connell, AABo.

[88] AFCS Proceedings, 1904, pp. 4-6.

Foresters, Catholic Mutual Benevolent Association, Central Verein, Catholic Knights of America, Catholic Women's Benevolent Union, Knights of St. John, Young Men's Institute, Irish Catholic Benevolent Union, Catholic Knights and Ladies of America, and the Western Catholic Union. Besides, the Committee on Credentials boasted of an increased membership including thirty states, more than three hundred County Federations, and five State Leagues.[89] And yet the Federation had to admit that it was almost insolvent.[90]

In his annual report, Matre mentioned that individual local Federations and his own office had begun to war against indecent plays, billboards and post cards. He then read a letter from Reverend William Ketcham of the Catholic Indian Bureau telling of the restoration of rations to Catholic Indians. The rations, a supplement to the Indians' meager incomes, had been gradually withdrawn through government action since 1895. Ketcham told Matre that the public opinion aroused through the publicity of the Federation had played a large part in having the rations restored.[91] A third accomplishment listed by Matre concerned the Federation's role in having Congress accept the statue of Father Marquette which had stood for nearly ten years in Statuary Hall in the nation's Capitol Building without having been formally accepted by the Congress.[92]

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[89] Ibid., pp. 27-28.

[90] Ibid., pp. 111-112; cf. Sister M. Borromeo to Weber, Philadelphia, February 27, 1905, Weber, AACHS; Matre to Sitenauer, St. Louis, February 6, 1906, Weber, AACHS.

[91] AFCS Proceedings, 1904, p. 113. Ketcham to Matre, Washington, April 4, 1904, ibid., p. 31. Eric Goldman, Charles J. Bonaparte, Johns Hopkins Studies in Historical and Political Science Series LXI, #2. (Baltimore, 1943), pp. 45-47 attributes the restoration of the rations to Bonaparte who with Archbishop Ryan of Philadelphia were the first Catholics on the Board of Indian Commissioners. Cf. NYFJ, April 19, 1902, for Catholic appointments; Ganss to Hudson, Carlisle, Pa., September 22, 1902; Hudson, AUND; Gibbons' Diary, January 29, 1902, p. 296, AAB.; Roosevelt to Gates, Washington, March 28, 1902, Roosevelt, AHU.

During the mass meeting, Reverend Thomas J. Campbell, S. J., Rector of Fordham University, delivered a brilliantly scholarly address on socialism. After giving the history of the "will of the governed" and its misuse, he showed how increased industrial activities had led to a distinct laboring class which had organized and ultimately, but not necessarily, come to socialism. Father Campbell listed several aspects of socialism including collectivism, positive communism, moderate positive communism, negative communism, scientific anarchy, anarchy, agrarian socialism, and socialism of the chair. From these, he traced the various movements in different European countries, but he had less to say of socialism in the United States.[93]

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[92] AFCS Proceedings, 1904, pp. 32, 42-43; cf. K. Gerald Marsden, "Father Marquette and the A.P.A.: An Incident in American Nativism," CHR, XLVI (April, 1960), 1-21. A study of the Congressional Record showed neither a lobby nor letters from the AFCS for either the Indian rations or the Marquette statue, 58 Cong., 2 Sess. (January 30, 1904 and January 21 to February 18, 1904). According to Mr. Richard Matre the Federation greatly desired to keep a strong lobby in Washington, but the organization lacked the funds.

[93] AFCS Proceedings, 1904, pp. 69-87. According to the New Century the Federation spent much time "fulminating against anarchy, socialism and liberalism." Quoted in Abell, Social Action, p. 153. Anarchy was not mentioned in the official Proceedings until it was included in a general resolution in 1903, nor was liberalism. Father Campbell made no connection between anarchy and socialism in the United States in his speech. The New Century also stated that "The Central Verein meets first, and the resolutions it adopts are afterwards translated into English and then passed by Catholic Federation." In Abell, Social Action, p. 153. With the exception of 1901, the Central Verein always held its meetings after the Federation Conventions. The Federation met in July or August; the Central Verein always met in September.

Among the resolutions for 1904, the Federation included a condemnation of socialism with the same admonition of 1903 that workingmen form Catholic labor unions. In addition, the AFCS resolved to sustain the foundations already established to guard the faith of the immigrants; to request Catholics to respond to the hierarchy's appeals to educate the Negro; and to demand a share of the school funds for parochial schools. The Federation indicated its awareness of the municipal reforms in such places as Toledo and Cleveland by passing a resolution deploring the prevalence of bribery and corruption.[94]

At every Convention, either the President, Secretary or Bishop McFaul listed the Federation's achievements. However, in a special article in Donahoe's Magazine, the Bishop admitted that other "agencies were at work" to accomplish the same ends in the Philippines, the Indian schools and elsewhere, "but Federation performed its full share in every problem presented to it." He offered in the same article an explanation of his school fund-sharing plan which had so confused Father Burk (sic) in 1903 at Atlantic City.[95]

Before the next National Convention convened, the Executive Board had several scheduled and two special meetings. At the request of the Belgian consul in New York the Executive Board met in New York on December 3, 1904. It seems that the National Federation of Churches had presented a memorial to Congress through Senator Morgan of Alabama protesting against alleged cruelty on the part of the French government in the Congo,[96] and these charges were interfering with the activities of the Catholic missionaries there. At the suggestion of the King of Belgium, three Belgian consuls, James Whitely, Paul Hagemaus and Pierre Mali, attended the meeting. However, after listening to all the remarks, the Board decided that there was insufficient evidence for it to act at that time.

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[94] AFCS Proceedings, 1904, pp. 94-101.

[95] "The American Federation of Catholic Societies," LII (July, 1904), p. 89; cf. Powers, Pastoral, pp. 221-247; also in pamphlet form; AFCS Proceedings, 1903, pp. 85-86; NYFJ, December 26, 1903, for Messmer's attitude; Bulletin, April, 1907, for Matre's remarks.

Joseph Weber of the Philadelphia Federation brought a second item to the attention of the Executive Board, that ninety-eight out of a hundred Filipino students studying in the United States under the Philippine educational plan were in non-Catholic institutions. The Board appointed a committee comprised of Bishop McFaul and Father Wynne to see that Filipinos were placed in Catholic institutions wherever possible. At the same time the Board decided to inform the secretaries of all State Federations to report any infringements of the rules found in a letter of Secretary of War Taft to Colonel Clarence Edwards of October 7, 1904. Edwards was Chief of the Bureau of Insular Affairs who had been instructed to safeguard the religion of any Filipino students in the United States.[97]

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[96] Bundy, Collectivism, p. 6; Proceedings of the Executive Board, p. 4, on microfilm, AUND; Bulletin, December, 1906. In 1904 the Protestant Federation was known as the National Federation of Churches. This later became the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America.

The Chairman of the Executive Board, Walter George Smith, a prominent Philadelphia lawyer and brother-in-law of the famous Katherine Drexel, warned the delegates of the dangers of individual members of the Federation acting independently of the whole organization.[98] Smith had good reasons behind this order because his own Secretary, Joseph Weber, frequently acted in his official capacity without consulting either Smith or the Philadelphia Executive Board.[99]

One such action of Weber's was his correspondence during October, 1904, with Father Wynne and Colonel Edwards about the Filipino students. William A. Sutherland, Superintendent of Filipino Students in the United States, had written an open letter to Weber denying any discrimination in the selection of educational institutions for the Filipinos, contending that Catholic institutions had failed to cooperate with the inquiries about rates, scholarships, etc.[100] Wynne then sent a questionnaire to Catholic colleges and found that after the institutions had been questioned, no further action had come from Sutherland. Notre Dame said it had not even been contacted, and Georgetown had reserved rooms for four boys who had never arrived.[101] Apparently, this correspondence and these actions were carried on by Wynne and Weber independently of the Federation, although both men held important offices in the organization. In one telegram, October 5, 1904, Wynne told Weber, "Federation may agitate this later."

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[97] Proceedings of the Executive Board, op. cit., pp. 29-30.

[98] Ibid., p. 30.

[99] Voluminous evidence in the Weber letters at AACHS. The matter reached a crisis in October, 1904, when Smith asked for the resignation of Weber, Smith to Weber, Philadelphia, October 11, 1904; November 15, 1905, Weber, AACHS, on microfilm, AUND. Weber did not resign upon Smith's first suggestion, but Smith was more emphatic with his second request for Weber's resignation.

[100] Sutherland to Weber, Washington, October 1, 1904; Wynne to Weber, October 11, 1904, Weber, AACHS; Hudson to Taft, Notre Dame, October 6, 9, 1904, Hudson (copies), AUND.

A regular Executive Board meeting took place in New Orleans on March 4, 5, and 6, 1905, the first session being held in the episcopal residence of Archbishop Placide Chapelle who was also Apostolic Delegate to Cuba and Puerto Rico. Minahan presided in the absence of Chairman Smith. Father Wynne, not listed as present, offered a resolution that no sectarian influence be exerted on Filipino students, and that Catholics should provide for the students' welfare in social, literary, and benevolent matters. At the written request of Cardinal Gibbons, the Congo question was reopened; but since evidence was still lacking, the matter was referred to a committee of McFaul, Wynne and W. G. Smith.[102]

Nicholas Gonner presented a plan of a Volksverein which would enable individuals to belong to the Federation. The Dubuque editor had inaugurated this same idea in the Central Verein in 1902 and clarified its meaning in 1903. Its purpose was to educate members by circulating literature about social problems which Gonner did not enumerate. For a small dues the members of the Volksverein would receive the literature mentioned. The Executive Board appointed a committee comprised of Messmer, Gonner, Wallrath and Cannon to study the possibilities of a Volksverein for the AFCS and to report on their findings one month before the next Convention.[103]

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[101] Wynne to Weber, October 11, 1904, op. cit.; Hudson to Taft, October 6, 1904, op. cit.; many letters and statistics in Hudson papers.

[102] Proceedings of Executive Board, op. cit., p. 4; also for 102; cf. Maria Longworth Storer, In Memoriam: Bellamy Storer (Boston, 1923), p. 109.

The Board settled upon New Orleans as the next Convention city, but it decided that the meeting should be held in October because southern summers precluded the holding of conventions in July. The last day of the Federation Convention would be called "Southern Day."[104] Before the business meeting adjourned, Doctor D. J. Fowler of Louisiana emphasized the importance of having only the Executive and Advisory Boards speak for the Federation in all things touching on national matters; and that only State Boards should speak on state matters, and County Boards on county matters.[105]

With customary southern hospitality, the Louisiana Federation held a gigantic mass meeting on the evening of March 6, 1905, in the French Opera House in honor of the Executive meeting. The Proceedings quoted the Picayune (date not given) as saying that the clergy and laity sat side by side in the auditorium. Minahan and McFaul delivered their usual speeches on

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[103] Proceedings of Executive Board, op. cit., p. 4; TCN, April 8, 1905; Gleason, "Central-Verein," pp. 130-131, 161-171.

[104] Proceedings of Executive Board, op. cit., p. 7.

[105] Ibid., p. 4.

"Federation, Aim and Scope" and "What Federation Is," respectively, the latter reiterating the need for united Catholics to cooperate with Protestants in matters of current importance.[106]

However, before October, 1905, an epidemic of yellow fever in New Orleans during the summer of 1905 forced the Federation to cancel the Convention. Archbishop Chapelle had been one of the victims of the plague, and this bereavement added to the other sorrows incident to the scourge of the fever. Consequently, the National Executive Board of the AFCS arranged to meet in Cincinnati on September 10 and 11 at the time of the golden jubilee Convention of the Central Verein.[107] In the meantime, the National Federation of Churches (Protestant) was planning an organizational meeting in New York on November 15, and, according to the Boston Globe of August 9, 1905, President Roosevelt was delighted with the idea of uniting twenty-four denominations representing eighteen million Protestants.

At the Cincinnati Executive Board meeting of the AFCS, Peter Wallrath clarified the Volksverein plan. Through an educational program of literature and agitation for the Catholic cause, members might reestablish the social order. Members could affiliate through societies and parishes or as individuals for an annual stipend of fifty cents which would entitle them to their membership certificate and to the Federation's literature. Promoters would solicit members, carry on correspondence and report to headquarters, and receive a ten cent commission for each member enrolled. Individuals might form a branch organization by applying for a charter from the National Secretary whereby they would be entitled to the same rights and privileges as affiliated societies. For this extra work Wallrath suggested that permanent headquarters be established.

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[106] Ibid., pp. 8-10.
[107] TCN, August 26, 1905.

The Executive Board also selected Buffalo as the next Convention city and appointed a Committee on Catholic Indian Affairs including McFaul, Wynne, Minahan, W. G. Smith and Alphonse Koelble of the Law Committee. In addition, the Board endorsed the recently organized Catholic Church Extension Plan for aiding poor, rural parishes. Furthermore, it named the First Sunday of Advent "Federation Sunday" to be set aside for general Communion and a local general meeting.

Bishop McFaul dusted off his perennial "Federation" speech and delivered it to an audience of 4000 gathered in the Music Hall on September 16, 1905, in commemoration of the jubilee of the German Roman Catholic Central Verein. The Bishop had spoken to a Central Verein Convention in 1904 in St. Louis where he had denied that Federation was a complaint department or a nascent political party.[108]

Without a general Convention of the Federation for 1905, interest in the movement waned. In the meantime, Thomas Minahan, President of the AFCS, had moved from Ohio to New York, and in

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[108] Proceedings of Executive Board, op. cit.; pp. 1-19; TCN, September 16, 23, 1905; 50 GV, 1905, pp. 10-11; 49 GV, 1904, p. 16.

1905 had settled in Seattle, Washington. From there he informed Cardinal Gibbons that he would no longer be able to continue as President of the Federation, but he hoped to arouse interest in the organization. Minahan asked the Cardinal to honor by his presence the Convention to be held in July, 1906, in Buffalo, or at least to "send a word of encouragement."[109] But Gibbons did neither.

The Buffalo Convention, held from July 29 to August 1, 1906, accomplished the project of inaugurating a Bulletin to carry Federation news including the Proceedings of the annual Conventions.[110] All the Proceedings for the Buffalo Convention appeared in the first Bulletin, December, 1906.

Gonner's Volksverein plan was incorporated into the Federation under an Associate Membership,[111] and a special Committee of Jurists with Walter G. Smith as Chairman was appointed to frame a more rigid divorce law. The Federation had a permanent Law Committee which suggested the means for counteracting laws which might violate Catholic principles, but this special Committee was designated to explore the problem of existing divorce laws.

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[109] June 14, 1906, Gibbons, AAB.

[110] Published quarterly until 1908, bi-monthly until 1912, monthly until 1918, and irregularly until 1919. All extant copies are on microfilm at AUND.

[111] Francis Matre said the idea of Associate Membership was his, but the evidence points to Gonner. The explanation of the Volksverein as outlined by Wallrath had many of the features of the Catholic Unions of earlier days.

Matre's report contained the achievements of the previous year. Among the accomplishments was the blocking of the Bard Amendment in the Senate, a measure which would have prevented sectarian schools from sharing in the appropriations for the education of Indians. A second achievement, according to Matre, was the care that the Federation was taking for the welfare of Filipino students, and Matre asked all State Secretaries to cooperate in making regular reports about the Filipino students residing in their areas. Matre told the delegates that the Federation had not acted on the Congo question because it was outside of the jurisdiction of the organization.

A new slate of officers was elected: Edward Feeney of Brooklyn, President; Alphonse Koelble, L. M. McClear of Detroit, and G. W. Stenger of St. Paul, the three Vice-Presidents; and Charles Schulte of Detroit, Treasurer. Matre remained the single incumbent. In his acceptance speech, Feeney appealed for increased membership through the new Associate Membership, and Messmer supported him by explaining that organization through the parishes in no way interfered with the national organizations.

At the mass meeting, Nicholas Gonner discussed the chronic question of socialism, and Reverend M. S. McCarthy, S.J., presented the cause of Catholic deaf-mutes. The delegates then undertook to help these unfortunates by passing a resolution to insure them of training in their faith. Another resolution supported the proposed inauguration of a Catholic Young Men's Association along the lines of the Young Men's Christian

Association, and this was accompanied by a resolution to seek places of "innocent amusement for Catholic youth."

Matre announced that the Ancient Order of Hibernians, the Bohemian Catholic Union and the Slavonic Union had affiliated with the Federation. Out of respect for the non-English speaking groups, the Federation passed a resolution permitting the use of the mother tongue in their meetings. Furthermore, the Federation pledged itself to interfere in no way with the language and culture of its members. Once more, also, the Federation condemned socialism.[112]

By 1907 the Federation seemed well on its way to success. Diocesan Federations had been formed in Brooklyn, Portland and New York City, and Bishops Charles McDonnell, William O'Connell and Archbishop John Farley had displayed deep interest in the movement. National organizations including the Western Catholic Union, Catholic Young Men's Union, Irish Catholic Benevolent Union, Catholic Total Abstinence Union and the Catholic Knights of America had pledged support to the Federation in their individual conventions.[113] Also Federations had been formed in Puerto Rico, and Archbishop Bourne of Westminster, England, was considering the formation of a Federation in his Archdiocese. The Society of Catholic Action in Holland was a federation of Catholic societies which corresponded with the American Federation, and a similar organization in Italy was accepting suggestions from the AFCS.[114] The American Federation was paving the way for a World Federation of Catholic Societies.

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[112] For the resolution on language see also 51 GV, 1906, pp. 28-31; 47 GV, 1902, pp. 119-120; Gleason, "Central-Verein," p. 130. Other agencies were working to combat the threat of socialism. The Central Verein had been distributing literature on the subject for some time and had sponsored talks against it. At the centenary of the Baltimore Cathedral in 1906, Cardinal Gibbons threw the impact of the great weight of the hierarchy into a nation-wide "struggle to stifle the growth of Socialism," Allen S. Will, "America's Debt to Cardinal Gibbons," Columbia, II (July, 1923), 23. Cf. Ira Kipnis, The American Socialist Movement, 1897-1912 (New York, 1952), p. 269. McFaul had written to Reverend Herman Heuser on March 28, 1905, to say that Minahan had been instrumental in killing the Bard Amendment. The Congressional Record, 59 Cong., Special Session, (March 4,5,6,1905), has no mention of AFCS influence; the Amendment had been tabled on February 15, 1905, 58 Cong., 3 Sess., but again AFCS is not mentioned.

Matre was able, now, to keep federationists informed through the new Bulletin, although much of the material was repetitive from issue to issue. In the April, 1907, issue he announced that the next Convention would be held in Indianapolis from July 14 to 17, 1907. In the same Bulletin Matre reminded member societies that the annual per capita tax was overdue; he had already sent the usual February notices to the various organizations that the dues were expected.[115]

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[113] NYFJ, April 11, 1903 to June 27, 1903, passim; TCN, April 1, 1905; Golden Anniversary Souvenir, 1877-1927, Western Catholic Union (Quincy, n.d.), p. 148; TCN, August 27, 1904; ICBU Proceedings, 1903, p. 48; CTAU Proceedings, 1907, p. 69; CKA Proceedings, 1907, p. 31, respectively.

[114] Bulletin, April, 1907. The contemporary literature on federation often uses interchangeably union, federation and congress to the confusion of the student. See Lord, Boston, III, 497; John E. Sexton, Cardinal O'Connell (Boston, 1926), p. 125; John K. Sharp, History of the Diocese of Brooklyn, 2 vols. (New York, 1954), II, 135; William L. Lucey, S.J., The Catholic Church in Maine (Francetown, N.H., 1957), p. 280, TCN, May 7, 1904.

[115] Matre to Officers of ___________ Federation, St. Louis, February 3, 1906, Weber, AACHS.

Many bishops and archbishops of the United States had endorsed the Federation by 1907, and these endorsements had been collected in a pamphlet for distribution among the members of the organization. As the Indianapolis Convention approached, both Messmer and McFaul wrote urgently for a more enthusiastic endorsement from Archbishop Falconio than he had sent in December, 1902. McFaul told the Delegate in his letter, "The movement is progressing slowly but healthfully. This I consider a good sign. I shouldn't like a mushroom growth."[116]

The response was encouraging and was reprinted in the Bulletin for November-December, 1910:

> The American Federation of Catholic Societies has always been for me an object of particular interest. I have carefully followed its steps from the time of its formation up to the stage of its present development. I have praised your endeavours and admired your courage....As the representative of our Holy Father, Pius the Tenth, to the United States, naturally I have at heart the spiritual and temporal welfare of our people, and consequently I can not but appreciate and encourage a movement which tends to the protection and amelioration of our people, both spiritually and temporally, in their individual and social capacity.

Messmer sent the Archbishop a letter of thanks, adding, "It will help us tremendously in our difficult task to have such an emphatic endorsement on the part of the Apostolic Delegate."[117] The endorsement was certainly a reversal of the more cautious approach of Falconio's earlier letters to Matre and McFaul.

Furthermore, the Apostolic Delegate attended the Indianapolis

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[116] McFaul to Falconio, Trenton, June 21, 1907, Falconio, AAD.

[117] Messmer to Falconio, Milwaukee, June 28, 1907, Falconio, AAD.

Convention, July 14 to 17, 1907, which the New World for July 20, 1907, interpreted to mean that the "Federation of Catholic Societies [had] the approval of the Holy See." Just before the AFCS Convention, the Delegate had attended the National Catholic Educational Association Convention in Milwaukee, and the New World connected the two meetings: "Coming so soon after the meeting of the leading educators of the United States..., it is a most gratifying instance of the alertness and zeal that animate the Catholic body in the United States." It further stated, "we are profoundly convinced that what Catholics can attain by asserting their claims before the grand jury of the American public is infinitely better for them than what they can gain by backstairs politics."

Among the resolutions of 1907 there was a demand for Catholic training on every level on account of the increase of juvenile delinquency. Another resolution urged Catholics to join Catholic fraternal insurance societies.[118] The Catholic Citizen for July 7, 1907, praised the Federation for dropping from its resolution on education the idea of the division of school funds. However, the measure remained out of the Federation's resolutions for only one year and was re-adopted in 1908 in Boston.

As Secretary of the Federation, and, therefore, a public figure, Matre overstepped himself in 1908 by responding to a request of Catholics in Shanghai asking the Federation to use its influence in having Judge Lubbeus Wilfley removed from office. Wilfley had been Attorney General of the Philippines and was presently on the United States Court for China at Shanghai where he was noted for passing down what appeared to be harsh and discriminatory sentences, especially in cases involving Catholics.

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[118] New World, July 27, 1907. The NCEA had been formed in St. Louis in 1904.

Matre repeated in a telegram, information he had received from Reverend M. Kennelly, S.J., of Shanghai, and quoted Kennelly's statement that Roosevelt and Elihu Root, Secretary of State, had erred in exonerating Wilfley before a Congressional Committee of investigation.[119] Roosevelt denounced Matre for publishing a "false and defamatory telegram regarding the President of the United States and the head of the Department charged with the conduct of the relations between the United States and foreign nations."[120] As a consequence, Matre announced in the Bulletin for March-April, 1908 that the Federation would suspend action on the Wilfley case.

In 1908 the Knights of Columbus made a definite statement about their affiliation with the Federation. Until then the Federation had not been able to gain support from the National KC. But in 1907 the Knights had appointed a commission to consider joining the AFCS. However, when the commission read its report in 1908 at the annual KC Convention, the Order "decided not to affiliate because the Commission did not feel it expedient" at that time. The Convention also defeated a resolution to permit local and state councils to become members of the Federation.[121]

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[119] Kennelly to Matre, Shanghai, March 10, 1908; Kennelly to Harty, ibid., Matre, on microfilm, AUND.

[120] Roosevelt to Cockran, Washington, March 16, 1908, in Elting Morison, ed. Letters of Theodore Roosevelt, 8 vols. (Cambridge, 1951-1954), VI, 972-973; cf. Frederick Zwierlein, Theodore Roosevelt and Catholics 1882-1919 (Rochester, 1956), pp. 318-319. Wilfley was found to be innocent of the charges before the Congressional Committee, but he was not reappointed when his term expired in 1909. Congressional Record, 60 Cong., 1 Sess. (May 8, 1906); cf. The Outlook, LXXXVIII (March 14, 1908), 572-573. Matre barely escaped arrest for interfering in diplomatic affairs. Interview.

The Bulletin for March-April, 1908, contained a hearty welcome to the Federation from Archbishop William O'Connell as it planned the Convention in Boston for August 8 to 12, 1908. And, according to the Archdiocesan historians, the Convention became "the largest and most successful [gathering] that the Federation had yet held."[122] Archbishop O'Connell's support had been, as Matre wrote him later, "a cause of a great impetus...throughout the country."[123]

Pope Pius X had sent his blessing upon the Convention through Cardinal Merry Del Val who had been besieged with requests by O'Connell, McFaul and Bishop Regis Canevin of Pittsburgh. At the opening Mass O'Connell preached the sermon, and at the evening mass meeting, McFaul gave his regular Federation speech. In his report to the delegates, Matre showed that interdenominational cooperation was being sought with the Federation by the National Municipal League (of which the Baltimore Catholic, Charles Bonaparte, was a member), the Interdenominational Council of Women for Christian and Patriotic Services and the National Liberal Immigration League. Both McFaul and Messmer approved of this kind of cooperation with groups other than Catholics.

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[121] CC, May 16; August 15, 1908.

[122] Lord, Boston, III, 507. They also said that Boston had been chosen for 1908 because of O'Connell's famous speech on the Federation, entitled "The Impregnable Wall," (on microfilm at AUND), Lord, Boston, III, 506.

[123] Matre to O'Connell, St. Louis, July 3, 1909, O'Connell, AABo.

The movement for a Young Men's Catholic Association had been supported during the previous year by the Young Men's Institute of Philadelphia, and the delegates of the Boston Convention showed its approval of the venture by passing another resolution to inaugurate a national Young Men's Catholic Association.[124] Modernism, recently condemned by Pius X, was also condemned by a resolution of the Convention,[125] as were indifference in religious matters and the violation of the Lord's Day. Showing its approval of the recently inaugurated Catholic Board of Negro Missions in Washington, the Convention resolved to support colored missions as well as Indian missions and the Church Extension Society.

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[124] *Bulletin*, April, 1907; September-October, 1908.

[125] *Ibid.*, September-October, 1908. Pius had condemned Modernism in the decree, "Lamentabili," in July, 1907, and his encyclical, *Pascendi Dominici Gregis*, was issued on September 8, 1907. For the history of Modernism see Jean Rivière, *Le Moderisme dans L'Église* (Paris, 1929), and Alec Vidler, *The Modernist Movement in the Roman Church* (Cambridge, 1934). The decree and encyclical are in Vincent Yzermans, *All Things in Christ* (St. Paul, 1952), pp. 83-117, 189-194.

During the mass meeting of the Boston Convention, Frederick Heckenkamp of the Western Catholic Union spoke on "The Church and Labor," mentioning in particular the bad working conditions which lead men into danger. While Heckenkamp cited the principles of Pope Leo's encyclical on labor, he did not give an endorsement of trade-unionism. At the same meeting Father William D. O'Brien of Chicago explained fully the work of the Catholic Church Extension Society which had been formed in 1905 and which was doing so much good for poor Catholic parishes in the United States.[126]

The Progressive movement in the United States had made some strides by 1908, especially on the state and local levels. Oregon, particularly under William U'Ren, had adopted the Australian ballot, initiative and referendum law, direct primary and a corrupt-practices act. Wisconsin and South Dakota had enacted similar laws even earlier than Oregon, and soon the reforms were reaching other states throughout the Union. By the end of Roosevelt's Administration, four states had passed laws extending the franchise to women. And Roosevelt's own work in conservation and the Pure Food and Drug Act encouraged the Progressives on the national scene.

In 1908 also, the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America completed its eighteen-year-old drive for federation. Both the Federal Council and the growing National Civic Federation were achieving a degree of success in combating the social evils resulting from crowded urban conditions.[127] But the Catholic Federation was still overlooking its opportunity to match its Protestant and non-sectarian counterparts in the same activities.

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[126] Bulletin, September-October, 1908.

Father Peter E. Dietz of Oberlin, Ohio, offered the Ohio Federation an opportunity to start a first social service school for workingmen in 1908, but the Federation did not seize the chance. He wrote to Michael Fanning, President of the Ohio Federation, on March 14, saying that Oberlin was "one of the strongest centres of Congregational influence in America;" hence, "such a Catholic undertaking in Oberlin would mean more for Catholicity that (sic) much missionary enterprise." Dietz wanted "Oberlin to be the centre of a Catholic Social service campaign," and he thought that the Federation was "the legitimate constituency."[128]

For years a friend of the workingman, Dietz had attended the American Federation of Labor Convention in the fall of 1908 in a private capacity. There, according to Philip Taft, the priest was impressed by an address of Reverend Charles Stelze of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, who showed how religious groups can help the working man.[129]

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[127] Bundy, Collectivism, p. 8; Elias Sanford, Origin and History of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America (Hartford, 1916), Chapter VIII; Charles H. Hopkins, The Rise of the Social Gospel in American Protestantism, 1865-1915 (New Haven, 1940), p. 302; NCFR, passim.

[128] In Dietz to Kenkel, Oberlin, October 13, 1908, Kenkel, AUND. Dietz also wrote to John Mitchell about the matter on March 14, 1908; cf. Dietz to Kenkel, Oberlin, June 4, 1909, Kenkel, AUND; Gleason, "Central-Verein," pp. 214-216.

However, 1909 was rather a bad year for the Federation. Even with Archbishop O'Connell's support, the eighth Annual Convention, held in Pittsburgh from August 8 to 11, 1909, was "sparsely (sic) attended, three quarters of the delegates being from Pennsylvania," according to The Catholic Citizen for August 21, 1909. One explanation for the poor attendance, according to The Catholic Citizen for 1907 and 1908, lay in the temporary inactivity of the Ohio Federations, at that time in one of those spells of apathy periodically experienced by most organizations. The small audience at Pittsburgh did not lessen the enthusiasm of Bishop Canevin who praised the organization for its fine work, calling federation "a wise and conservative movement."

Reverend John E. Burke, Director General of the Colored Missions in the United States, spoke at the public meeting about the conditions of Negroes in the United States. Later, the delegates endorsed a movement to effect a national union of all graduates of Catholic parochial schools and institutions of higher learning in the country. President Feeney read a letter from Cardinal Gibbons asking that the Federation supply 800,000 members for the Society for the Preservation of the Faith among Indian Children which had been a favorite organization of Gibbons for many years.[130]

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[129] Philip Taft, The A.F. of L. in the Time of Gompers (New York, 1957), p. 335.

[130] Bulletin, September-October, 1909.

The movement against indecent plays, cards, pictures and billboard displays, begun in 1904 by Matre and local Federations, picked up momentum as the organization became better integrated. Matre used the Bulletin to keep the members informed of the progress being made in this work, citing in particular what local Federations could do when disrespect was shown the Catholic Church.[131] The Rochester, New York, Federation, for example, protested to the New York Journal (Hearst) that it "had traduced the Catholic Church in a shameful manner" by its articles.[132] And the Pittsburgh Federation supported Matre's drive against indecency by objecting to the costumes worn by the "Salome" dancers at the Duquesne Theatre; the owners promised to provide decent costumes for the performers.[133] Matre's own St. Louis Federation elicited an apology from Squib magazine for its obnoxious caricatures of the sisterhood.[134]

Articles in the Bulletin informed the readers about the dangers of socialism, correct Sunday observance, the evils of child labor, the moral influence of the theatre, deaths and items of news from Catholics all over the world. In the May-June, 1910, issue, Monsignor J. Schrembs of Grand Rapids discussed the "Vatican incident" involving ex-President Roosevelt who had declined an invitation to visit the Pope. Out of this event there arose some sort of "plot" involving the Federation.[135]

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[131] Ibid., January-February, 1908; November-December, 1908 and passim; cf. TCC-R, May 19, 1911.

[132] Bulletin, November-December, 1908.

[133] Ibid., January-February, 1909.

[134] Ibid., May-June, 1909.

In the May-June, 1910, issue of the *Bulletin*, Nicholas Gonner submitted a plan for a Catholic Week in which the AFCS, Central Verein and Catholic Educational Association would meet simultaneously. This was very likely in response to many complaints through the years about the multiplicity of meetings held annually at considerable expense to delegates.[136] However, Gonner's plan was not adopted until six years later.

During September and October, 1910, Matre, Feeney and Thomas Cannon, Chairman of the Executive Board, protested about the press reports of the Ferrer trial. Ferrer had been executed in Barcelona for inspiring anti-clerical riots, but the trial had caused a furious controversy. In particular, Feeney, Matre and Cannon objected to the treatment the whole incident had received in *McClure's Magazine* for January, 1910, and addressed an open letter to the publishers which Matre put into the *Bulletin* for January-February, 1910. Archbishop Falconio commended the Federation for the action,[137] and finally Cameron Mackenzie of McClure's wrote to Matre to say that his magazine had hired the best experts on the Ferrer case before publishing one word about the trial.[138]

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[135] *Ibid.*, May-June, 1910. Cf. Storer to O'Connell, May 25, 1910, in Dorothy Wayman, "Some Unpublished Correspondence between the Bellamy Storers and Cardinal O'Connell, 1908-1929," *CHR*, XL (June, 1954), 146; Maria Longworth Storer, *In Memoriam: Bellamy Storer* (Boston, 1923), pp. 119-120; *Outlook*, XCIV, XCV, XCVI, *passim*. Roosevelt thought McFaul and O'Connell were trying to "make a set" at him, and he countered by sending a man named Laughlin to join the Federation to get back at the Prelates. The exact nature of Roosevelt's plan is not clear. See Morison, *op. cit.*, VII, 83 and Zwierlein, *op. cit.*, p. 350.

[136] Immekus to Weber, Pittsburgh, March 11, 1905; Brown to Weber, March 1, 1905, Weber, AACHS. These men, among others, complained about the expense of attending both state and national conventions.

Feeney and Matre issued in the Bulletin for September-October, 1910, the official call for the ninth annual Convention of the AFCS to be held in New Orleans from November 9 to 13, 1910. A strong State Federation existed in Louisiana, and the committee on preparations wrote in the name of Charles Denechaud, President, asking Frederick Kenkel of the Central Bureau of the Central Verein in St. Louis to speak on the "Social Question."[139] Catholics were becoming "social minded" in 1910,[140] and the Central Verein represented the best organized Catholic social group in America at that time. Kenkel's organization had sponsored lectures by ex-socialist David Goldstein[141] who later made a circuit for the Federation.[142]

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[137] Bulletin, March-April, 1910; Falconio to Feeney, Washington, February 11, 1910, Falconio, AAD; New World, February 5, 1910. The original article appeared in McClure's, XXXIV (January, 1910), 327-337, by Percival Gibbon, "The Ferrer Trial." Gibbon left the reader with the impression that the schools supported by Ferrer's followers filled a much needed gap in Barcelona's educational system. The replies from Catholics were published in an article entitled, "The American Catholics and the Ferrer Trial," XXXV (October, 1910), 697-704, including the AFCS letter, one from AOH, one from Extension Society, one from the Philadelphia Federation, and one from a private individual. Matre suggested to McClure's that Andrew Shipman might present the Catholic view, and he did in XXXV (October, 1910), 704-711.

[138] Bulletin, September-October, 1910. The expert was William Archer whose articles appeared in McClure's, XXXVI (November, December, 1910), 43-59, 229-242, without entirely eliminating the earlier opinion. Cf. Gleason, "Central-Verein," p. 344; Hilaire Belloc, A Conspiracy and Its Agency (St. Louis, 1911).

[139] Denechaud to Kenkel, New Orleans, August 23, 1910; November 19, 1910, Kenkel, AUND.

[140] Melvin Williams, Catholic Social Thought (New York, 1950), p. 34.

Archbishop Falconio was present at the New Orleans Convention where he addressed the delegates on "Capital and Labor." The Delegate said that "the great labor question, which is now distracting society, depends on the observance of God's divine law." He gave special commendation to the Germans for their anti-socialist propaganda.

At the public meeting when delegate Otto Siefritz of Wisconsin tried to press the issue of obtaining the Convention's endorsement of the Young Men's Catholic Association, Matre insisted that the matter be deferred until the hierarchy could be consulted. As a first step towards a Young Men's Catholic Association, the leaders of the Young Men's Institute and the Young Men's National Union were eager to form an alliance; and Matre seemed to them to be using a delaying action.

The Convention passed a resolution against the Portuguese persecution of Catholics saying that "President Braga and his associates have disgraced their manhood." After the Convention, Matre sent to President Taft a copy of the resolution, together with a letter telling Taft that the resolution was "the expression of 3,000,000 American Catholics" and voiced "the sentiments of the 15,000,000 Catholic citizens of the United States."[143]

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[141] Gettleman to Kenkel, Toledo, December 19, 1910, Kenkel, AUND.

[142] TCC-R, January 13, 20, 1911.

Later in November, 1910, Father Dietz represented the AFCS at the American Federation of Labor Convention in St. Louis.[144] Matre asked Dietz to take Peter McArdle with him, but McArdle had an objection to the choice. He was Secretary of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers and President of the Militia of Christ, and he wrote to Dietz, "I do not think that I would consistantly (sic) represent them and my own organization...I think the Fed. of C.S. should either select some one who is not representing any other interest or...delay being represented."[145] But he went with Dietz anyway. An unofficial connection between the two federations was formed thereby and lasted until 1916. The step gave a glimmer of hope to Catholic workingmen who had been waiting for some official action of the Church towards labor unionism.

Reporting in the Bulletin for January-February, 1911, on his experiences at the AFL Convention, Father Dietz told how he had celebrated a solemn Mass for the Catholic delegates on the

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[143] Bulletin, January-February, 1911; Matre to Taft, St. Louis, November 22, 1910, Taft, NA; Resolution on the Portuguese Question, Taft, NA. cf. Matre to Honorable Secretary of State, St. Louis, May 9, 1911; Knox to Matre, Washington, n.d., State Department Records, NA, about recognition of the Portuguese Republic.

[144] Matre to Dietz, St. Louis, October 10, 1910, Dietz, ACB; Morrison to Matre, Washington, November 7, 1910; Matre to Morrison, St. Louis, November 10, 1910, (copies), Dietz, ACB, on credentials.

[145] McArdle to Dietz, Pittsburgh, n.d., Dietz, ACB; Matre to Dietz and McArdle, St. Louis, November 9, 1910, Dietz, ACB, about credentials; TCC-R, December 16, 1910, reported that the AFCS "holds out to the trade unionism the hand of fellowship and support."

Sunday of the Convention. He further explained about his Militia of Christ for Social Service which he had organized to defend the Christian order of society and its progressive development. The Militia accepted as members any Catholic who accepted the principles of trade-unionism and paid the annual dues of one dollar. Father Dietz hoped to affiliate his Militia with the AFCS.

As the first decade of Federation's history drew to a close, Columbus, Ohio, was selected for the Convention of August 20 to 23, 1911. "The German Societies [of Franklin County, Ohio, were] somewhat reluctant in lending their support," and Matre asked Archbishop Henry Moeller of Cincinnati for help "in brining (sic) about a harmonious unity between the German Societies...and those of other nationalities."[146] National differences continued to plague the Federation, but Franklin County managed to be "well organized before the national convention."[147]

The Catholic Press Association met in Columbus just before the Federation Convention opened on August 20. Since the First Catholic Congress, the Press Association had made several attempts to organize, but each effort had been short-lived. However, the fortunate selection of the dates immediately previous to the AFCS Convention proved a happy inspiration. At least one writer, Apollinaris Baumgartner, concludes that this was the salvation of the CPA.[148] And for several years after 1911 the

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[146] Matre to Moeller, St. Louis, March 18, 1911, Moeller, AAC.

[147] TCC-R, August 4, 1911.

[148] Catholic Journalism (New York, 1931), p. 61; TCC-R, August 25; September 1, 1911.

CPA held its annual Conventions just before the AFCS Conventions and in the same city.

Besides giving encouragement to the Catholic Press Association, the Columbus Convention completed two other significant pieces of business: it started the movement towards a women's federation, and it organized a Social Service Commission. Extension magazine for October, 1911, congratulated the organization for this latter achievement and for securing as chairman of the new department "the active, energetic and able Ordinary of Rockford, Bishop Muldoon." Furthermore, the editorial continued:

> It may be alleged that at present there is no great need of such Catholic activity, looking to the betterment of the workingmen, but it is better to take time by the forelock and not to be in the position of several of the European countries that woke up only too late to the sad fact that Socialism, Atheism and Anarchy had worked havoc amongst the laboring men.

Altogether, the editor of the Extension thought the Columbus Convention had been one of the best that the Federation had ever conducted. To him, the "federation [had] already proven itself to be more than a resoluting body and [was]...occupying the proud preëminence of voicing what is generally felt to be Catholic public opinion in America." In addition, he wrote, "Nor need fear be entertained that it is usurping the powers or prerogatives of the hierarchy;" the presence of such Prelates as McFaul, Maes, Messmer, Canevin, Schrembs and Hartley was "sufficient guarantee that the deliberations of the meetings and the activity of this vast body will be turned into safe and sane channels.[149]

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[149] VI, 4.

On this note the Federation completed its first decade of activity. Although there were many people, both Catholics and non-Catholics, who were unaware of its existence, the Federation had made a mark both nationally and locally. The two Presidents who had administered the country since 1901, Roosevelt and Taft, had had personal contact with the organization even though the methods of the AFCS had annoyed them at times. Repeatedly the Federation made assertions that Congressional legislation had been influenced as a result of the public opinion which the AFCS had aroused.

At least in New Jersey, the Federation had exerted influence to prevent tax-exempt organizations from being taxed under a proposed law. Local governments and organizations had been besieged with complaints about discriminations against Catholics and immoral displays of any kind. By one resolution the Federation had indicated its awareness of the Progressive movement, especially in local governments, when it deplored bribery and corruption.

Although the Federation made no mention of the Apostolic Constitution removing the United States from mission status in 1908, the AFCS overlooked no current activity in the United States. It supported in order the formation of the National Educational Association, Catholic Church Extension Society, and the Catholic Board of Negro Missions. With others, the AFCS helped to increase the membership of the Society for the Preservation of the Faith among Indian Children, and in some respects it anticipated Pius X's Decree of December 20, 1905, encouraging frequent Communion. The Federation had initiated the program of an annual General Communion-Meeting in its Convention in 1905 prior to the Decree. It further showed its willingness to cooperate with the Holy See in passing resolutions to condemn Modernism, liberalism, anarchism, socialism, violation of the Lord's Day and harmful societies.

By its support of the Catholic press, and by holding meetings in the same city as the annual Convention of the Catholic Press Association, the Federation aided the spread of Catholic literature. In addition, the Federation added to the public information available to Catholics by the selection of timely topics for both the Bulletin and the speakers at the annual Conventions, always seeking the best minds in the country to expound on the subjects.

Although the hierarchy did not make any official collective statement about the Federation, by 1911 the organization had had written and verbal endorsements from the majority of the American bishops and the Apostolic Delegates. Each Pope had also sent an Apostolic Blessing upon the work and had seemed aware of the progress being made. Twice, at least, during the first decade, Cardinal Gibbons had called upon the Federation to act: to secure 800,000 members for the Society for the Preservation of the Faith among the Indians, and to ask the Executive Board to reopen the Congo question in 1905.

Perhaps one of the greatest movements sponsored by the AFCS with varying results was the attempted inauguration of a Catholic Young Men's Association to counteract the work being done by the Young Men's Christian Association. This was the Federation's answer to the various Popes who repeatedly asked that associations of Catholic young men be formed to safeguard the morals of Catholic youth. Connected with this movement was the constant interest shown by the Federation in Catholic education, not only in the United States but in the new possessions.

A rather exalted proposal of the Federation was the project of a World's Federation of Catholic Societies. Before the end of the first decade, the AFCS had been in correspondence with numerous countries where some sort of federation already existed, and these organizations were seeking more information about the nature of the American Federation. At the same time, the American AFCS did not overlook the conditions of Catholics in other countries and extended its sentiments towards its co-religionists elsewhere in its resolutions.

Accounts of the first decade of the AFCS might leave the impression that the organization was moving in a vacuum, but there is sufficient evidence to the contrary. In its speeches, writings and resolutions the Federation touched all matters of importance connected with American Catholic life. It is true that the AFCS had not succeeded in obtaining an official statement about trade-unionism from the Bishops, but it did keep the Catholic principles on labor constantly before the public by its insistence upon a study of the encyclicals, in its speeches and in its resolutions.

The establishment of a Social Service Commission in 1911 was a step in the right direction at a time when social problems were numerous. Certain individuals, not all members of the Federation, had been attempting to arouse Catholic interest in the needs of workingmen, their families, working girls and the conditions they lived in, social education, more universal Catholic education, etc. These individuals included Father John A. Ryan of St. Paul Seminary in St. Paul, author of Living Wage, Father Frederic Siedenburg of Loyola University in Chicago, Father Peter Dietz, and Frederick Kenkel of the Central Bureau which had been founded in 1908 in St. Louis. However, coordinated Catholic efforts in these matters were still lacking, and the Federation seemed the likely vehicle, at least to Father Dietz, for carrying the program to success.

But a notation in the Diary of Bishop Peter Muldoon of Rockford, Illinois, showed that even this Prelate, deeply interested in the progress of the Federation, had doubts about its ability to perform the task of coordinating Catholic social activity. He wrote, "Attended the Convention of Catholic Societies at Columbus Ohio (sic) from 20th to 24th. Its future?"[150] The question seemed to be whether the Social Service Commission could achieve success for itself and for the Federation.

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[150] August 20, 1911, (sic), on microfilm, ACUA.

CHAPTER V

THE FEDERATION'S SOCIAL SERVICE COMMISSION

When Reverend Peter E. Dietz[1] suggested to the tenth annual Convention of the American Federation of Catholic Societies in Columbus in 1911 that it should form a "Committee on Social Reform," he was no stranger to the organization. He had proposed as early as 1906 that the AFCS implement its resolution on Catholic trade unions for Catholic workingmen, but he had been rebuffed.[2] Already, he had attended the American Federation of Labor Convention in 1910 as a representative of the AFCS, and afterward he had submitted his report for publication in the Bulletin. Consequently, the Federation adopted Dietz's suggestion in good faith and formed its Social Service Commission without wholly realizing what the move entailed.

Father Dietz had been in the novitiate of the Society of the Divine Word; but he had realized that in that particular community, he could not carry on the work he felt called upon to do. He left the community, studied in Europe and at the

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[1] Sister Mary Harrita Fox, B.V.M., "Peter E. Dietz, Pioneer in the Catholic Social Movement," (Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Notre Dame, 1950), Chapters V and VI give a more comprehensive study of Father Dietz's role in the SSC, going more into detail than is possible in a general study of AFCS. The dissertation has been published under the title, Peter E. Dietz, Labor Priest (Notre Dame, 1953), but the unpublished version is a more complete treatment and will be quoted in this dissertation. Hereafter cited as Fox, "Dietz."

[2] Dietz to Muldoon, n.p., January 5, 1916, Dietz, (copy), ACB.

Catholic University, was adopted by Bishop Ignatius Horstmann, educated at Saint Mary's Seminary in Baltimore, ordained in Cleveland and made assistant pastor of St. Mary's Church, Elyria, Ohio, with a mission in Oberlin.

In the decade before 1911, Father Dietz became interested in the labor problem and social service and wanted to establish a school for Catholic workingmen in Oberlin, that "centre of Congregationalism," but the Ohio Federation had not accepted his proposal. In the meantime, Dietz had joined the Ohio Staatsverband to whose Convention in 1909 he delivered an address on labor conditions. He pictured the unpleasant working conditions in the industrial areas of the country and emphasized the need for labor legislation. His talk inspired the delegates to adopt a resolution "to secure such legislation as will advance the interests of the great mass of Catholic workingmen in reference to their social, intellectual, and wage-earning qualities." Matre, of the Federation, considered this speech worth printing and put it in the Bulletin for July-August, 1909.

Father Dietz realized, perhaps as much as any other Catholic interested in social action, that there was a real need for coordinated action in social service. He had tried to work with the Central Verein, but he was soon aware that, although the organization was interested in social work, he did not work very congenially with Kenkel of the Central Bureau. Dietz had also accepted membership on the Executive Council of the Industrial

Economic Department of the National Civic Federation. The AFCS had disdained the NCF's "alleged purpose [of] harmonizing...the interests of capital and labor, a position...economically unsound"[3] for the worker.

However, in appointing officers for the new Social Service Commission the Federation turned to Dietz and made him Secretary. Bishop Peter Muldoon was the Chairman, and the other members were Reverend John Cavanaugh, C.S.C., President of the University of Notre Dame; Professor James Hagerty of the Economics Department of Ohio State University; and Charles I. Denechaud, President of the Louisiana Federation. Cavanaugh accepted the appointment with the promise "to do all that" he could "to forward the end and aims of this committee,"[4] although he did not have "a very clear idea of what" the Commission was to do. He had "not heard a word of it" until Dietz wrote him about serving on it.[5] Bishop Muldoon promised to "endeavor to work out some program...feasible within the lines of Federation."[6] If the AFCS did not know what it had undertaken when it started the Commission, certainly the members of the SSC were no better informed of their responsibilities.

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[3] Bulletin, June, 1912; Memorandum of United Mine Workers to President Taft, n.d., n.p., Taft, MD. John Mitchell of United Mine Workers defended Labor's participation in the NCF in the Bulletin, January, 1913. Correspondence between NCF and Dietz for several years in ACB.

[4] Cavanaugh to Matre, Notre Dame, September 21, 1911, Cavanaugh, (copy), AUND.

[5] Cavanaugh to Dietz, Notre Dame, September 14, 1911, Dietz, ACB; Fox, "Dietz," p. 160.

[6] Muldoon to Matre, Rockford, September 19, 1911, Dietz, ACB.

From the beginning, the relationship of the SSC to the AFCS was not clear. Matre wanted the headquarters of both in his office, probably to curtail expenses,[7] but Dietz would not move to St. Louis. Furthermore, Matre insisted that the SSC should be supported "from...Associate Membership" and that nothing should "interfere with the growth of" either the Bulletin or Federation membership.[8] Associate Membership was an outgrowth of Gonner's proposed Volksverein, an anomalous situation in which individuals were members of a federation of societies. Matre aimed another blow at Dietz by incorporating into the Associate Membership the priest's Militia of Christ, which Dietz had hoped to affiliate as another society in the AFCS.[9] Dietz had also expected to find in the Federation the vehicle to carry his message of Catholic principles to workingmen, but Matre's submersion of the Militia of Christ seemed to him to defeat his purpose.

Hagerty hoped that the SSC might "be instrumental in determining the methods of Federation." Personally, he would not go far to attend meetings under existing circumstances and did not "believe the resolutions passed [were] worth much more than the paper upon which they" were written. Hagerty suggested that better results might be achieved if committees were appointed a year in advance to "debate and then submit to the Convention a substantial report."[10] Muldoon, too, was genuinely interested in preparing something constructive for the Commission. After praising Dietz for his column in the latest Bulletin as the "best yet," he suggested an issue of "short concise pamphlets on such subjects as What Socialism says about the family, about marriage, religion, about love of country."[11] AFCS President Edward Feeney concurred in this idea, feeling that the Federation could "afford a few hundred dollars for it."[12]

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[7] Matre to Dietz, St. Louis, September 22, 1911, Dietz, ACB.

[8] Ibid., September 27, 1911.

[9] Ibid., October 3, 1911; cf. Fox, "Dietz," Chapters III and IV; Thomas J. McDonagh, C.S.C., "Some Aspects of the Roman Catholic Attitude toward the American Labor Movement, 1900-1914," (Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1951), pp. 125ff. Hereafter cited as McDonagh, "Catholic Attitude toward Labor."

In the early months of the SSC Matre showed his intention of controlling the Federation, consequently, two currents of activity within the organization became discernible. Although apparently interested in social reform and the work of the Commission, Matre lent little of his experience in the Federation to the organization of the new sub-committee. Somehow Dietz early became uneasy about the relationship between the SSC and the AFCS, especially Matre. This he confided to Hagerty who replied, "I am sorry to learn what you have to say about Matre. It looks...to me...that he wants most of the work himself. I feel convinced that the success of an organization like the Federation depends largely on the efficiency of its working officer,-in this case its secretary."[13] There is no question that Matre was the working member of the Federation, but his conservative attitude matched McFaul's and put him at odds with the more progressive Dietz.

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[10] Hagerty to Dietz, Columbus, December 6, 1911, Dietz, ACB.

[11] Muldoon to Dietz, Rockford, January 18; February 1, 1912, Dietz, ACB.

[12] Feeney to Dietz, Brooklyn, January 29, 1912, Dietz, ACB.

The Social Service Commission had no real organization until it held its first special meeting at the University of Notre Dame on February 8, 1912. Because the secretary of a group should be the "working officer," it was decided that Dietz should be relieved of parish work in order to devote his time to the Commission. In this, Archbishop Messmer, his new Ordinary, concurred, and Dietz was allotted a fixed compensation by the AFCS for his work in the SSC.[14]

As Secretary of the Militia of Christ, Father Dietz had begun the publication of Social Service which the SSC decided to incorporate into the Bulletin, allowing the priest sixteen columns.[15] When the Executive Board met the following month, it confirmed the actions of the SSC, concluding that there was a positive need for the Federation to open a campaign for social education so that the constituents might learn the position of the Church on the great social questions of the day.[16]

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[13] Hagerty to Dietz, Columbus, January 14, 1912, Dietz, ACB. These are the identical words that Walter George Smith used when he asked for Weber's resignation in 1904 and 1905, supra, p. 145.

[14] Minutes of the Meeting, ACB. Cf. TCC-R, February 16, 1912; Fox, "Dietz," pp. 160-163; Messmer to Dietz, Milwaukee, April 12, 1912, Dietz, ACB. Father Dietz had asked Bishop John Farrelly of Cleveland for a year's leave of absence to enable the priest to make arrangements for establishing his Militia of Christ in some industrial area and near a large Catholic university. When Bishop Farrelly said that Dietz might have the year's leave on the condition that he be available if the Diocese needed him, Dietz asked for adoption in Milwaukee. The transfer papers were dated February 9, 1912.

[15] Bulletin, March-April, 1912; TCC-R, March 29, 1912; Muldoon's Diary, March 6, 1912, ACUA.

Under conditions where one Bulletin existed with two editors, one in St. Louis and the other in Milwaukee, tension was almost inevitable. When Dietz's material was not ready for the first issue under the new arrangement, Matre wrote that he relied upon Dietz "or Bishop Mldoon (sic) to write an explanatory article stating that the Social Dept. has been unavoidably delayed and will inaugurated (sic) in the June issue."[17] Whatever delayed Dietz is not clear, but Matre wrote the following week, "we must work harmoniously in this work and without friction."[18]

With what appeared to be almost two organizations, the AFCS and the SSC prepared for the next annual Convention to be held in Louisville. Matre was apprehensive because the German Committee on Social Propaganda of the Central Verein was making rapid strides. Desiring the AFCS to appear "superior (italics his) to all," he warned Dietz, "I notice...that...Jos. Mott (sic) of the 'Wanderer' is...launching some criticism of the 'Common Cause,'" and Matt also thought Kenkel the leading social student in the United States. It was necessary, then, wrote Matre, that the Federation's "initial bow in the Social Service Work.../be/

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[16] TCC-R, March 29, 1912.

[17] Matre to Dietz, St. Louis, April 17, 1912, Dietz, ACB.

[18] Ibid., April 24, 1912.

enthusiastically received."[19]

Realizing that the SSC was not universally approved by the general membership of the AFCS, Muldoon and Hagerty faced the Louisville meeting with some concern. Anticipating that "like the Republican Convention" there would be "Stand-Patters and Progressives," the Bishop urged Dietz to make overtures to "Catholic Editors" and "Cath. Benev. Societies" for "help through their organs &c" as "the opening wedge...to push the...idea at the Convention."[20] Dietz had thought that perhaps a "Catholic Week" might arouse interest in the SSC, but Hagerty opposed this. He contended that the Federation had "nothing definite but its resolutions which no one [paid] any attention to. The result would be that practically all the people would attend the meetings where subjects of interest were discussed...and Federation would disappear from the map."[21]

The Executive and Advisory Boards, at their meeting in March, 1912, had decided that the Social Service Commission should be integrated with the general Federation meeting, and that one of the mass meetings should be devoted to the interests of the SSC. Dietz tried to build up support of the SSC through the County and State Federations and had sent a circular letter asking for opinions about subjects of interest to delegates to the Convention.[22] Likewise, with Hagerty, he formulated a questionnaire designed to determine what areas of social action were in greatest need of immediate attention.[23]

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[19] Ibid., April 2, 1912. A Laymen's League for Retreats had opened in New York a School of Social Studies to train a corps of lecturers upon social questions. Its monthly magazine was Common Cause; cf. Bulletin, January-February, 1912. Rev. H. Schorp, CSSR, wrote that Common Cause was interfering with the circulation of the Bulletin because priests would not subscribe to both, Schorp to Dietz, North East, Pa., January 4, 1912, Dietz, ACB. For Committee on Social Propaganda see Gleason, "Central-Verein," pp. 200ff. Matt was very suspicious of Dietz; cf. Matt to Kenkel, St. Paul, September 29, 1911, Kenkel, AUND. For Common Cause Society see Fox, "Dietz," pp. 59-60.

[20] Muldoon to Dietz, Rockford, June 19, 23, 1912; July, n.d., 1912, Dietz, ACB.

[21] Hagerty to Dietz, Columbus, June 11, 1912, Dietz, ACB.

Returns from this questionnaire were slow. Only about ten per cent of the forms were filled out, and the final analysis of their contents was not ready until later in 1912.[24] However, Dietz had recommended a "national program and one great national campaign, one headquarters in each state and city, from which social centers or Catholic city halls all social activities could be directed."[25] And practically unassisted he set out upon the venture of promoting social service work through the SSC.

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[22] Dietz to ____________, Milwaukee, August 1, 1912, Dietz, (circular), ACB.

[23] Based on Father William Kerby's "An Examination of the Social Conscience," and covering items of education, justice, charity, public morals, press, and organization. Dr. Kerby was a leading figure in the Conference of Catholic Charities in Washington. Cf. Fox, "Dietz," pp. 163ff and 390-393; Bulletin, February, 1913.

[24] Report of the Secretary of the Social Service Commission, August, 1912-August, 1913, ACB. Hereafter cited as Minutes SSC. This report was obviously written with those for subsequent years at one time, probably around 1918 when Dietz was severing his relations with the AFCS. There is evident in the report much of the bitterness that Dietz exhibited in later years.

[25] *Ibid.*; cf. Fox, "Dietz," p.164.

In order to enlist the support of the Catholic Press Association, meeting in August, 1912, before the Federation Convention of August 21 to 25 in Louisville, Muldoon and Dietz attended the CPA meeting.[26] Bishop Muldoon put before the Press conference the suggestion of releasing a weekly press service to expand the literary program of the AFCS in conjunction with the CPA. The happy result was that twenty-five Catholic papers contracted to accept the Newsletter at one dollar a letter; and the Newsletter began with Dietz as editor on January 18, 1913.[27] Fortunately for the CPA, it was agreed that all subscribers to the Newsletters should also become members of the Catholic Press Association.[28]

The responses to the questionnaire sent out by Father Dietz, though few, were gratifying,[29] and in his reply Father William Kerby suggested making a concrete definition or expression of the principles involving a minimum wage, justice in wages, social decency and social reform.[30] Many of the letters had suggested labor problems as matter for the agenda of the Social Service Commission meeting in Louisville, and Dietz was happy to comply with the proposals. Consequently, the first general conference of the SSC offered a program including speeches by Michael Fanning on "Social Service," James Hagerty on "The Unorganized Worker," Peter Collins on "Socialism vs. Trade Unionism," Nicholas Gonner on "The Catholic Employer," and Peter McArdle on "Public Opinion and Social Legislation."[31]

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[26] Muldoon to Cavanaugh, Rockford, August 6, 1912, Cavanaugh, AUND; Muldoon to Dietz, Rockford, August 11, 1912, Dietz, ACB; cf. TCC-R, August 2, 1912.

[27] Dietz to Muldoon, Milwaukee, January 18, 1913, Muldoon, ACB.

[28] Becker to Dietz, New York, February 19, 1913, Dietz, ACB.

[29] Many answers including Heckenkamp to Dietz, Quincy, Ill., August 3, 1912; Bonaparte to Dietz, Baltimore, August 7, 1912; Parn to Dietz, Chicago, August 10, 1912, Dietz, ACB.

[30] Kerby to Dietz, Washington, October 8, 1912, Dietz, ACB.

Archbishop Messmer spoke glowingly during the mass meeting in Louisville about the manner in which the Federation had assumed its share in the efforts to alleviate social ills through the work of the Commission, and in this way he gained many supporters for the SSC.[32] The Republic for August 24, 1912, noted that as "far-seeing, brotherly men, the Catholic Federationists will be in the forefront of every movement to ameliorate the just grievances of the wage-earners, especially in the matter of the high cost of living."

The ordinary business of the Federation was not neglected at the Louisville Convention because of the addition of the conference of the Social Service Commission. A notable advancement was the resolution in which the "Societies...decided to consolidate with the ladies."[33] For some time there had been a desultory agitation for a women's Federation, one having already been formed by the Louisiana Federation.[34] Both Archbishop Messmer and Bishop Joseph Schrembs of Toledo were enthusiastic about a women's Federation which could devote its energies to helping working girls and women.[35] However, although the idea of the women's Federation was hailed as an innovation at the Louisville Convention, the matter did not advance beyond the committee stage for four years.

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[31] Bulletin, September, October, 1912; Minutes SSC.

[32] Bulletin, September, 1912; TCC-R, August 23, 1912.

[33] Western Watchman, August 29, 1912; cf. TR, August 23,30, 1912; Bulletin, September, 1912.

[34] Sullivan to Roth, Mandeville, La., February 29, 1912 (copy); Roth to Kenkel, Mandeville, March 14, 1912; Roth to "Dear Sir," Mandeville, May 7, 1912, Kenkel, AUND.

At Louisville, the Federation also attacked a new hostile development in the Indian school problem. Commissioner Robert Valentine of the United States Bureau of Indian Affairs wished to force legislation through the Congress to forbid the Sisters to wear their habits when teaching in the government schools. In an attempt to obtain Catholic action quickly, Reverend William Ketcham of the Catholic Indian Bureau in Washington asked Father Wynne to put the problem before the Federation Convention. However, Wynne wrote to Ketcham, "the bishops at the Federation Convention were so uncertain how to proceed that they did not know precisely what the nature of the decision was to be, that they advised leaving the affair entirely to you."[36] The Federation protested against the Valentine proposal and was happy to note in the Bulletin for September, 1912, that the measure had been defeated.

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[35] Messmer to Roth, Milwaukee, January 3, 1912, Kenkel, (copy), AUND; Bulletin, January-February, 1912; March-April, 1912; TR, May 10; July 5, 1912.

[36] Wynne to Ketcham, New York, August 26,27, 1912, Kenkel, AUND; Ketcham to Wynne, Washington, August 28, 1912, ibid. The hierarchy was also working on the situation, Bulletin, September, 1912; and Taft was accused of "pandering to the Catholic Church" for his opposition, Henry Pringle, The Life and Times of William Howard Taft, 2 vols. (New York, 1939), II, 833. Cf. Bulletin, May, 1912; January, 1913; Matre to Dietz, St. Louis, December 12, 1913, Dietz, ACB.

During the Louisville Convention, Archbishop Messmer spoke very strongly about finances, saying, "With the resources on hand it is not possible for Federation to carry on its work... we are in a deplorable condition...I feel ashamed for our affiliated societies, for our Federation...If there is not more of a sacrificing spirit in the Federation...then I say rather let us disband and stop the work of Federation."[37] Not even this urgent appeal did much to make the Federation more solvent, for not a month passed that finances were not mentioned either in the Bulletin or in the correspondence of the AFCS.

Before the Louisville Convention, Bishop Muldoon had designated Hagerty a "committee of one to see about the /Catholic/ Charity Conference holding" its annual meeting in the same place at the same time as the Federation so that the two organizations might construct a social program.[38] This placed Hagerty in a somewhat awkward position because he had objected to the multiplicity of meetings in an earlier correspondence with Dietz. However, Hagerty complied with the Bishop's request, and after the Louisville Convention he reported that the Conference of Catholic Charities was opposed to a joint meeting with the Federation because the former was "an Eastern (italics his) organization."[39] This decision precluded cooperation between the AFCS and the Charities Conference at that time.

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[37] Bulletin, September, 1912.

[38] Muldoon to Dietz, Rockford, August 9, 1912, Dietz, ACB.

By 1912 socialism had gained strength to a frightening degree, the Socialist party polling 897,011 votes for Eugene V. Debs, its presidential candidate. Some Catholics, including Dietz, were interested in counteracting the power of the socialists. In an encyclical, Singulari Quadam, addressed to German workingmen on September 24, 1912, Pope Pius X had granted permission for Catholics to join Christian labor unions, even though he preferred that Catholics form their own organizations. As Secretary of the Militia of Christ, Father Dietz saw the dangers besetting Catholic workers, especially when the socialists in the AFL repeatedly offered resolutions condemning clerical interference in the labor movement.

Consequently, at the AFL Convention in Rochester in 1912, Dietz collaborated with Catholic labor leaders Denis Hayes and John Mitchell to formulate a request to the American hierarchy asking for an official Catholic policy towards the labor movement. They drew up a testimonial which was presented to Cardinal Gibbons on December 26, 1912, by James O'Connell, Father Kerby and Father Dietz.[40]

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[39] Hagerty to Dietz, Columbus, September 21,27,1912, Dietz,ACB. This same assertion has been made by others, implying that the Federation was a Western organization. Except for the most effective impetus towards federation coming from the Cleveland meeting of the Knights of St. John, all previous agitation and organizational meetings were held in New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania. Monsignor Arthur Riley of Quincy, Massachusetts, in correspondence with the writer in June, 1960, stated that the "Western" aspect of the Federation may have kept the Knights of Columbus from joining as a national body. The National Charities Conference was formed in 1910.

[40] Dietz to Whalen, Milwaukee, February 4, 1913, Dietz, (copy), ACB. Hayes was President of the Association of Glass Bottle Blowers, and Mitchell was a Vice-President of the United Mine Workers.

The Cardinal received the delegation graciously and promised to bring the matter before the next Archbishops' Meeting. In the meantime, Dietz was to prepare a detailed explanation of the specific matters that should be included in a Pastoral Letter.[41]

The items listed by Father Dietz were numerous:union shop, collective bargaining, limitation of apprenticeship, strikes, boycotts, black-lists, lock-outs, picketing, the militia, arbitration, trade agreements and conferences. Dietz also thought the Pastoral should include the duties of trade unionists: consideration of the public, extension of the benefits of organized labor, resistance to socialism, positive manifestation of faith, faithful attendance at union meetings and serving on committees of the unions.[42]

However, by the time the machinery of the testimonial was in working order, President Wilson had appointed his Commission on Industrial Relations to study the conditions existing between labor and industry. Both Kerby and Archbishop John Glennon of St. Louis wrote Dietz that the hierarchy would act slowly about issuing a Pastoral until Wilson's Commission had made a report.[43] At the Archbishops' Meeting on April 2, 1913, however, Cardinal

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[41] Dietz to Gibbons, Milwaukee, March 27, 1913, Dietz, (copy), ACB. The full story of this incident is told in Fox, "Dietz," pp. 115-122. O'Connell was President of the International Association of Machinists. Kerby attended at the request of Gibbons.

[42] Dietz to Gibbons, op. cit.

[43] Kerby to Dietz, Washington, July 7, 1913; Glennon to Dietz, St. Louis, February 20, 1913, Dietz, ACB. Father Ryan had attempted to secure an appointment to the Commission and had enlisted the aid of the Federation for recommendations. The Executive Board, and especially Messmer, had suggested that the Federation submit only one name for the position, but Matre submitted Kerby's as well as Ryan's. See Ryan to Dietz, St. Paul, September 12,27,1912; Muldoon to Dietz, September 28, 1912; Flannery to Dietz, Boston, September 28, 1912, Dietz, ACB.

O'Connell was appointed head of a sub-committee to secure information on the matters listed by Dietz as pertinent material for a Pastoral.[44]

In the meantime, the first Newsletter promised to the Catholic Press Association in Louisville came off the press on January 18, 1913. Dietz explained the purpose of the Newsletter in the first issue, "Containing a brief summary of important matters, affecting labor and social service in the religious, fraternal, unionist, industrial, legislative and administrative fields, and such other information that will tend to secure the Christian order of society and to promote industrial peace and prosperity." In the same issue Dietz repeated his questionnaire, addressing it to all the societies and to individuals. Then he stated that the object of the questionnaire and of the Newsletter was to discuss as many as possible of the items covered by the former. Being a weekly publication, the Newsletter was more timely than the monthly Bulletin, covering all sorts of labor information and items of general interest as well.

As time went on, Father Dietz became more and more conscious of the need for trained personnel, both for officers and clerical workers of the Federation and social service workers. In January, 1913, Reverend Emmanuel Callahan of Johnson City, Tennessee, offered Dietz a sixteen room house for the purpose of starting a business school which would include preparation in political science, sociology, labor movements, economics, philosophy, oratory and journalism.[45] However, Dietz told Father Callahan that the Federation had insufficient funds to handle the property at that time.[46]

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[44] Minutes of the Archbishops' Meeting, Washington, AABo, AAB.

He then explored another possibility, the amalgamation with the Central Verein which was planning to open its Ketteler School.[47] But the Verein had not yet decided whether to work alone, to ally with Loyola University of Chicago which had started lectures on social service,[48] or to join with the Federation. The Ketteler Study House was a specially cherished ideal of Frederick Kenkel who wished to see theoretical and practical social service united by study and field work. Reverend Frederic Siedenburg of Loyola University attended an AFCS Executive meeting in Chicago in June, 1913, where Muldoon agreed with Siedenburg that the Federation should cooperate with the establishment of the Ketteler House.[49] However, Dietz insisted that the Federation would not support the Study House unless the AFCS were represented on the governing board,[50] and this evoked a storm of protest from Kenkel.[51]

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[45] Fox, "Dietz," p. 244.

[46] Milwaukee, January 9, 1913, Dietz, (copy), ACB. The property could not be sold, but could be offered the priest for "temporary possession" if he cared for the adjacent parish, Fox, "Dietz," p. 245.

[47] Frey to Kenkel, New York, June 15, 1913; July 2, 1913; Kenkel to Siedenburg, St. Louis, June 27, 1913, (copy); Meckel to Kenkel, Alton, Ill., June 30, 1913, Kenkel, AUND; cf. Gleason, "Central-Verein," pp. 239-242 and 325-332.

[48] Spalding to Kenkel, Chicago, December 26, [1912?], Kenkel, AUND.

[49] Siedenburg to Kenkel, Chicago, June 25, 1913, Kenkel, AUND.

[50] Frey to Kenkel, New York, June 15, 1913, Kenkel, AUND.

[51] Kenkel to Siedenburg, June 27, 1913, op. cit.

In his search for agencies with which to cooperate, Dietz found a willing ally in Reverend Joseph Reiner, S.J., of St. Louis University, who encouraged Dietz to confer with the leading authorities on the subject and then draft a real program of social reform. Reiner wrote that unity on such matters would do much more to counteract socialism than "all the denunciation and vituperation" being heaped upon it. "Such a program would be another very definite basis of consolidation for various organizations affiliated with Federation;" he added, "it would focus [the] social activities which are now so scattered and hence ineffective." Father Reiner suggested that Dietz publish a Social Year Book for 1914 and prepare pamphlets for publication.[52] Both the Federation and the Social Service Commission already had pamphlets for distribution. The former had had several in circulation, since almost its first days:

- The American Federation of Catholic Societies: Brief Statement of Its Aims and Purposes. Information for County Federations and Parishes
- "The Crusade for Public Morality" by the Committee on Public Morals of the AFCS
- Episcopal Approvals: The American Federation of Catholic Societies
- The Christian School by Bishop McFaul
- The Impregnable Wall by Cardinal O'Connell

To these Dietz added those of the Social Service Commission:

- The Christian Manifesto by Peter E. Dietz
- Report of the Social Service Commission Conference
- Socialist Science Bankrupt
- Right Relations between Employers and Workers (Cardinal O'Connell's Pastoral on labor)

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[52] Reiner to Dietz, St. Louis, April 4, 1913, Dietz, ACB.

Why Socialism Is Opposed to Trade Unionism
What Shall Our Catholic Societies Do?[53]

In addition to his work as Social Service Secretary and Secretary of the Militia of Christ, Father Dietz labored zealously to revive a practically defunct Federation in Milwaukee. His efforts were rewarded with unusual success in the face of some oppositfon from the German societies in that city. In fact, Milwaukee was chosen as the Convention city for 1913 where Dietz planned his second Social Service Conference. In keeping with his program of circulating worth-while literature, Dietz invited Ambrose Willis of the Catholic Reading Guild of London to address the SSC Conference.[54]

Before the AFCS Convention assembled, Dietz tried to prepare the hierarchy towards a better understanding of the services offered by the SSC. To each bishop he sent a booklet in May, 1913, advertising the SCC's lecture series which was designed to keep members of local Federations informed about timely topics throughout the year. In addition, in April, 1913, Dietz had asked each bishop to appoint a priest representative in the diocese to promote the lecture series which was constructed to make effective the encyclical of Pope Leo XIII on labor. And finally, he asked that a clerical representative be sent from each diocese to the Conference to be held in Milwaukee, but the response to this last letter was most discouraging.[55]

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[53] Federation pamphlets collected by the present writer. SSC pamphlets listed in a circular letter of April 25, 1915, Dietz, ACB; Fox, "Dietz," p. 177; cf. Bulletin, January, 1914.

[54] Willis to Dietz, London, July 11, 1913, Dietz, ACB. See also Gramling (Secretary of the Wisconsin Federation) to Dietz, Milwaukee, n.d.; and Messmer to Dietz, Milwaukee, January 2, 1913, Dietz, ACB. Cf. Dietz to Matre, Milwaukee, January 17, 1914, Dietz, (copy), ACB.

In the meantime, Matre was working in the interest of the general Federation, continuing through the *Bulletin* his war on indecent literature, against the sending of immoral books through the mails, and especially against Tom Watson's anti-Christian magazine.[56] Matre announced in the *Bulletin* the formation of new Federations, but as early as November-December, 1911, there was evidence that not all new Federations were following the civic lines of organization prescribed by the Constitution. Some diocesan groups, such as Seattle and Grand Rapids, were forming regardless of county lines.

Nevertheless, the Federation seemed extremely effective when on August 9, 1913, under the patronage of Archbishop Messmer the twelfth annual Convention opened in Milwaukee. Cardinal Gibbons celebrated the pontifical Mass after having walked to the Cathedral between a guard of honor of the Knights of Columbus. Present in the sanctuary were Archbishops Messmer, Glennon, Ireland, James Quigley of Chicago and James Keane of Dubuque and seventeen bishops. Archbishop Keane delivered the sermon in which he stated that "Protestantism, as a system of religious truth, has collapsed,"[57] and then pointed out to the federationists their duty to cooperate with the AFCS in spreading Catholic principles.

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[55] Letters to Dietz, May 19, 1913, from several bishops, Dietz, ACB, *Bulletin*, November, 1912.

[56] *Bulletin*, January-February, 1912 and *passim*. Myers, *Bigotry*, pp. 248ff. Matre to Watterson, St. Louis, December 30, 1911; Watterson to Matre, Pittsburgh, January 4, 1912, Matre, AUND. Watterson was Chairman of the Law Committee of the Federation.

At the general public meeting, Cardinal Gibbons addressed the assembly, saying, "You [the laity] are a joy to all of us [the clergy], a jewel in our crown, and your good works are made manifest not through a small space, but throughout the length and breadth of these United States...I cherish all of you." After his talk the Cardinal imparted the Apostolic Blessing sent from Pope Pius X.[58]

During the mass meeting two nights later Ireland spoke on "Catholicism and Americanism," Reverend Joseph Husslein, S.J., of America discussed the conditions in the Republic of Portugal, and Chairman of the Committee on Public Morals Edward Feeney gave his report. Among the magazines listed as dangerous to Catholic morals was The Menace, established in 1911, which had kept an alert check on the activities of the Federation.[59] One resolution passed by the general meeting expressed the Federation's approbation and appreciation of the Catholic Encyclopedia which had been completed during the previous year. Father Wynne, Condé Pallen and the others who had worked on the compilation of the Encyclopedia received special commendations for their painstaking industry during the project.[60]

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[57] Bulletin, September, 1913.

[58] Ibid., cf. Will, Gibbons, II, 755-756.

[59] Bulletin, September, 1913 and passim; The Menace, July 20, 1912 and passim. The Menace was inaccurate in its reporting. On December 21, 1912, it spoke of the Federation's activities since its beginning seven years before. It reported the New Jersey Federation's action on the tax bill of 1902 as if it had occurred in 1912, January 4, 1913. On March 15, 1915, it accused the Federation of attacking freedom of the press because the Catholic organization wanted the United States Post Office department to refuse permission to The Menace and similar publications to send their magazines through the mails. The Menace stated that fifty Catholic politicians were backing the question of limiting its circulation through the mail.

To the Second Social Service Conference Bishop Joseph Busch spoke about the conditions of the miners in his Diocese of Lead, South Dakota. His chief concern was the inability of his Catholic workers to assist at Sunday Mass because of a seven-day work week. Also on the Social Service program were Frank Duffy, Secretary of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, who spoke on "Apprenticeship and Industrial Education;" Reverend Salvatore Cianci of Grand Rapids, who discussed "Social Work Among the Italians;" Joseph Devney, Cleveland Lyceum Bureau, who talked on "The Limitations of Individual Fortunes;" and Ambrose Willis, Business Manager of the London Tablet, who supported "The Circulation of Catholic Reading."

The outcome of the SS Conference was the establishment of a Statistical Bureau, the inauguration of a drive for funds for the Federation, and a resolution endorsing trade-unionism.[61] Father Dietz announced to the delegates of the Conference that the Social Service office had sent out 3,264 pamphlets in the last year and that the outlook for the future was promising.

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[60] Bulletin, September, 1913 and passim.

[61] Bulletin, September, October, 1913; Minutes SSC.

Dietz's interest in social service workers had prompted him to place once more on the agenda of the Convention in Milwaukee the consideration of the women's Federation. Archbishop Moeller was entirely opposed to the idea on the grounds that "Experience has taught me that where ever (sic) Women were admitted to such organizations of this kind, the men soon became disinterested in the work and refrained from attending the meetings and conventions."[62] Although he endorsed the movement, Archbishop Messmer had suggested that there be no "contact with women's societies until after the National Convention."[63] Again there was misunderstanding about what was being proposed. Some thought admitting women's societies would mean beginning a second Federation, but the plan was to incorporate the existing National Women's League and other women's societies into the Federation as another affiliate. Frederick Heckenkamp, President of the Western Catholic Union, held the opinion that "the National Federation of Catholic Societies must control every National Catholic movement of the lay forces," and this would include the women as well as groups of Catholic workingmen.[64]

Tension between Matre and Dietz had been evident before the Convention, especially in matters concerning material for the Bulletin, finances and the proposed appointment of Father

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[62] Moeller to Matre, Cincinnati, July 22, 1913, Letter Book, AAC.

[63] Koehler to Dietz, Watertown, Wis., July 19,28, 1913, Dietz, ACB.

[64] Heckenkamp to Dietz, Quincy, August 13, 191[3?], Dietz, ACB.

John A. Ryan to the Industrial Commission.[65] This friction was not ameliorated by the harsh criticisms in the press reports of the general meeting, and the more friendly reception of the work of the SS Conference. Special notice was given the speeches of Archbishops Ireland and Messmer and Bishop Busch. Ireland had delivered a version of his patriotism speeches, for which he was taken to task by The Republic of August 16, 1913, for believing that all who attempted to impugn Catholic patriotism were excusable on the score of ignorance.[66] When Archbishop Messmer denounced the critics of the Catholic position in American life, the vituperous Marie Louise Points, editor of The Morning Star of New Orleans, expressed the opinion on August 16, 1913, that it was not understandable how anyone could take the views expounded by the leaders of the Federation. She used as her source the encyclicals, going all the way back to Pope Leo's letter to Gibbons on January 6, 1895, *Longinqua Oceani*, to prove that the Federation was not, as it claimed, basing its principles on the teachings of the popes. Bishop Busch's talk had been so poorly reported in the press, that he found it imperative to secure a "stenographer's copy" which had not been "correct in all details."[67]

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[65] Ryan to Dietz, St. Paul, September 12, 1912, September 27, 1912; Muldoon to Dietz, Rockford, September 17, 1912; September 28, 1912; November 9, 1912; Dietz to Matre, March 7,26, 1913, (copies); Matre to Dietz, St. Louis, March 28, 1913, Dietz, ACB.

[66] *Bulletin*, September, October, 1913, for the speech.

[67] Busch to Matre, Rapid City, August 22,23,25; September 5, 1913, Dietz, ACB; *Bulletin*, September, 1913; Gleason, "Central-Verein," pp. 235ff; McDonagh, "Catholic Attitudes toward Labor," pp. 138ff.

On the other hand, except for the repercussions over Busch's speech, the reports on the Social Service Conference were very encouraging. In an article on the Convention in The Salesianum for October, 1913, Father Ryan indicated that enthusiasm was high, and he considered this a good sign for leaders in social work.[68] And Father Charles Plater of the Catholic Social Guild of London was delighted with the formation of the Statistical Bureau since statistics played such an important role in social service activities.[69]

Additional words of praise came from Federation's President Denechaud who said, "One of the greatest works undertaken by Federation has been the inauguration of the Social Service Commission."[70] The Survey considered the Federation Commission, "the national conference of Catholic Charities and [the Militia of Christ]...a new advance in social service in the American Catholic Church."[71] Of the SSC, Paul Blakely, S.J., was to write in America, "By its Bulletin and lectures the Social Service Department has striven with much success to keep socialism out of the lives of our working people."[72]

Anthony Matre was invested as a Knight of St. Gregory on the platform of the Convention Hall in Milwaukee, becoming the third member of the Federation to be so honored in the same year. Archbishops Glennon and Messmer, and Bishop McFaul had recommended Matre to the Holy Father for the layman's work in the Federation, and McFaul presided over the investiture at the Convention. The other members of the AFCS to receive the same dignity were Edward Feeney, former President, and Nicholas Gonner of the Executive Board.[73] Frederick Kenkel of the Central Bureau had also been made a Knight of St. Gregory in 1913, and apparently Matre had objected to his name being linked with the federationists in the news releases.[74] It was understandable, then, that Kenkel was reluctant in September, 1913, to publish an editorial about the Milwaukee Convention in Die Amerika at Matre's request.[75]

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[68] "The Catholic Federation Convention," The Salesianum, IX (October, 1913), 31-34.

[69] Charles Plater, S.J., The Priest and Social Action (London, 1914), p. 128; Catholic Social Yearbook (London, 1914), p. 131; Bulletin, May, August, 1916; Archbishop Glennon of St. Louis headed a committee appointed by the Archbishops in 1912 to conduct a Catholic census, ACB, AACH.

[70] Bulletin, September, 1913.

[71] "Views of Catholic Societies," XXIX (October 19, 1912), 84.

[72] XI (October 10, 1914), 639.

Matre's actions might also have had an adverse effect upon the efforts Dietz was making to create better coordination with the Central Verein in social work. In the previous year Kenkel had thought that the SSC and the Social Propaganda Committee of the Central Verein "should work together harmoniously,"[76] but both Cavanaugh and Hagerty had warned Dietz that there should be "no obligation to follow each other's suggestions."[77] In

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[73] Bulletin, January, April, 1913.

[74] Fuhr to Kenkel, Chicago, 1913, Kenkel, (Telegram), AUND.

[75] Matre to Kenkel, St. Louis, September 4, 1913, Kenkel, AUND.

[76] Kenkel to Muldoon, St. Louis, September 25, 1912, Dietz, ACB.

[77] Cavanaugh to Dietz, Notre Dame, October 19, 1912; Hagerty to Dietz, Columbus, October 19, 1912, Dietz, ACB.

1913 President Frey of the Verein informed Dietz that it was "the federation-that [was] doing the overlapping and duplicating and not the Central Verein," which had been the "first in the field." However, the Verein's revised "Constitution [said] clearly" that the Verein should "cooperate with the Federation."[78] Gonner, a sort of middle-of-the-road man in the Verein, knew that it would "naturally take some time," but "with good will and a strong sense of justice," it "should be no impossibility."[79] However, another year would pass before the AFCS and the Central Verein worked out an agreement, to the benefit of the latter.[80]

Internal dissension in Federation increased as Dietz made proposals that reached beyond the rather narrow limits of the AFCS. Possibly to alleviate some of the strain, Matre suggested that Dietz write to each member of the Executive Board asking for complete control of the Bulletin. Dietz agreed with the understanding that Matre would submit the letter as Dietz had "written it." He also submitted a plan of amalgamation with Our Sunday Visitor which would give the AFCS one page a week and a bonus of $5,000 a year.[81] Matre altered Dietz's letter before it went to the Executive Board which decided to wait until the next Convention before considering the Visitor's offer.[82]

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[78] Frey to Kenkel, New York, August 16; September 18, 1913, Dietz, ACB; cf. Gleason, "Central-Verein," pp. 324ff.; Fox, "Dietz," pp. 162, 212-213. The Verein had, indeed, been the "first in the field" of Catholic social service work. Its Central Bureau had been established in 1908 for the purpose of promoting studies in social work, immigrant care, etc. Its organ, the German-English Central Blatt and Social Justice, distributed information for the Bureau. See A.F. Brockland, "An Efficient Central Bureau," America, XI (August 8, 1914), 395-396.

[79] Gonner to Dietz, Dubuque, November 6, 1913, Dietz, ACB.

[80] Gleason, "Central-Verein," pp. 322ff.; Ms. at ACB; infra, p. 215.

While waiting for the decision of the coming Convention, Dietz edited the entire Bulletin at a salary of sixty dollars a month, and Matre became contributing editor. To aid the financial situation, Dietz arranged to accept from Father John Noll of the Visitor "$50.00 per month to send out the newsletter [gratis to additional members of the] labor and Catholic press."[83] Father Dietz and Francis Matre, assistant to his father in St. Louis, had been working for such an agreement with Father Noll for more than six months,[84] but Dietz wanted to be certain that no arrangement would interfere with his editorial freedom.

As editor of both the Bulletin and the Newsletter, Dietz worked diligently to try to establish a Catholic public opinion. He sent a circular to the subscribers of the Newsletter in February, 1914, offering a new basis: twenty-five dollars a year or one dollar for each service the editor saw fit to use.[85] In addition, he asked opinions on the service from time to time so that he might improve his articles. Although the suggestions and words of encouragement that Dietz received were many, he just as frequently was criticized for his efforts.[86] In particular, he found the steady grind of supplying weekly news very taxing, and he complained to Heckenkamp that no one offered to assist him in compiling the information for the weekly Newsletter.[87]

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[81] Dietz to Matre, n.p., May 7, 1914; Dietz to Executive Board, May 14, 1914, Dietz, (copies), ACB; Fox, "Dietz," pp. 178ff.

[82] Dietz to Noll, n.p., June 10, 1914, Dietz, (copy), ACB. Our Sunday Visitor, a national Catholic weekly, was first published in 1912.

[83] Dietz to Muldoon, n.p., June 6, 1914, Dietz, (copy), ACB.

[84] Frank Matre to Dietz, St. Louis, October 24, 1913; Dietz to Noll, n.p., May 15, 1914, (copy), Dietz, ACB.

[85] n.p., February 6, 1914, Dietz, ACB.

Under his editorship the Bulletin took on a new appearance so "radical" according to Heckenkamp, "that even Mr. Matre will be forced to like it."[88] The size was enlarged and the headlines made more striking. Dietz published articles by prominent Catholics both lay and religious including Reverend Edwin V. O'Hara of Oregon on "Protective Standards for Women Workers;" "Liberalism, Socialism, Christian Reform - Which?" by the Indiana Federation's Louis Budenz; President of Philadelphia's Federation S. Edwin Megargee's "Organization, the Watchword of the Hour;" Bishop John Carroll of Helena, Montana, on "The Catholic Church a Friend of Labor;" Father Ryan's "Federation of Catholic Societies and Social Reform" and "Individual and Social Reform;" and

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[86] Smith to Dietz, Denver, July 14, 1916; Points to Dietz, New Orleans, August 10, 1916; Tierney to Dietz, New York, July 11, 1916; all praised his efforts. Gonner to Dietz, Dubuque, January 17, 1913; Catholic Messenger to Dietz, Worcester, May 6, 1913; Beck to Dietz, June 2, 1913; J.J. Casey to Dietz, Kansas City, Mo., October 25, 1913, Dietz, ACB. Casey was surprised that he was expected to pay for the service.

[87] n.p., March 25, 1913, Dietz, (copy), ACB.

[88] Heckenkamp to Dietz, Quincy, March 17, 1915, Dietz, ACB.

Louis Collins, former Secretary of State of New York, and International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers' Secretary on "Socialism."[89]

It is often difficult to determine from his correspondence when Father Dietz was working for the SSC and the AFCS or the Militia of Christ or the Wisconsin Federation or any of his other enterprises. He almost always used the Social Service letterhead paper in his correspondence. However, after he had been disappointed in his attempt to open the school in Tennessee, he could not resist a piece of property offered him by Mrs. Bessie Safford in Hot Springs, North Carolina, early in 1914.[90] This school would be his "American Academy of Christian Democracy" with which he hoped to "find the wedge into the Catholic Federation which" would "entirely open the way for a complete Social Service program." In writing that to Heckenkamp, Dietz added, "I am certain that my work will stand or fall with the Academy."[91] His school was not an undertaking of either the Federation or the SSC, but he seemed obsessed with the idea that only through a recognized school could his entire program in the SSC be complete. It proved, though, just another wedge to separate him further from Matre than before.

At the semi-annual meeting of the SSC in Chicago on February

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[89] Bulletin, September, 1912ff. Bishop Carroll had attended the AFL Convention as an AFCS delegate in 1913.

[90] Callahan to Dietz, Johnson City, n.d., Dietz, ACB.

[91] n.p. May 22, 1913, Dietz, (copy), ACB. For the story of Academy of Christian Democracy, see Fox, "Dietz," Chapter VII.

22, 1914, the Commission decided to arrange two separate conferences at the Baltimore Convention in September, 1914. One had for its purpose the organization of a Catholic Fraternal Congress, and the other a general conference of all the Catholic social movements on the basis of their experience and actual achievement.[92] However, Dietz planned to go to Europe in June to attend an international meeting of Catholic Trade Unionists at Lourdes.[93] Meanwhile, he had taken as assistant in his office Alfred Kliefoth who would conduct the business of the organization in the priests' absence.[94]

The Milwaukee Federation had been progressing slowly, and on June 19, 1914, Dietz was able to send a circular advertising that a Social Service reading room had been established for the Catholics of the city. At the same time he wrote to Condé Pallen, however, that the Milwaukee Federation was too poor to buy an encyclopedia, but that he was planning to aid the sale of pamphlets by putting a cartload of them on the street during the State Federation Convention.[95]

General Federation activities had not ceased while the SSC was advancing. Officers for 1913 to 1914 included Charles I. Denechaud of New Orleans as President; Thomas Flynn of Chicago,

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[92] Minutes SSC; Dietz to Muldoon, n.p., May 13, 1914, Dietz, (copy), ACB.

[93] Fox, "Dietz," pp. 147ff.

[94] Dietz to Neill, Milwaukee, May 7, 1914, Dietz, (copy), ACB; Bulletin, May, 1914. Kliefoth was often referred to as Alfred Kliefath, A.B.

[95] June 19, 1914, Dietz, (copy), ACB.

J.A. Coller of Shakopee, Minnesota, J. Frey of New York, J.J. Hynes of Buffalo, Dr. Peter Ganz of Louisville, and E. Callahan of Kentucky as Vice-Presidents; Matre; Heckenkamp as Treasurer; C.H. Herald of Seneca, Kansas, as Marshal; and Leo Hook Man as Color Bearer. In addition to his duties as Treasurer, Heckenkamp became supervisor of the Bulletin to assist Dietz as editor.[96]

The Bulletin of August, 1913, satisfied the demand for a Catholic Week by calling the joint Catholic Press Association and AFCS Conventions in Milwaukee a Catholic Week. For some time, too, the Bulletin noted the progress of a World's Federation of Catholic Societies. In November, 1912, it mentioned the work of the German and English Federations; the February, 1913 Bulletin included a discussion of the resolution of the Salford, England, Federation which endorsed a World Federation; in the June, 1913, issue there was a report of the Federations in New Zealand and Australia; and in January, 1914, the Bulletin stated that Catholics of Trinidad had requested information about forming a federation. The American Federation proposed a resolution to be presented in Baltimore supporting the idea of a World Federation and announced in the Bulletin for November, 1914 that the resolution was passed. By 1914 the AFCS had spread to such a degree that it felt qualified to support expansion beyond every state in the union and the possessions, all supporting at least one Federation. Sixty colleges, twenty-four national organizations and one hundred Councils of the Knights of Columbus belonged to the AFCS.[97]

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[96] Bulletin, September, 1913. The number of Vice-Presidents had been increased to six in 1911.

Local units of the Federation kept alive one activity of earlier years, the project to form a Young Men's Catholic Association.[98] Bishop Schrembs outlined a proposal in the Bulletin for May, 1913, which was closely related in structure to the Young Men's Christian Association. Boston started an Association which in three years had increased enrollment in evening classes from fifty to twelve hundred. Timothy Brinnin, First Vice-President of the Young Men's National Union, told Father Dietz that the Association was the answer to the Young Men's Christian Association.[99] A similar organization was operating in Manitowoc, Wisconsin, and its spiritual director, Reverend Henry Letz, wrote to Father Dietz asking what benefits the Young Men's Society might derive from the Federation.[100]

With the popularity of motion pictures increasing, the Federation had begun in 1912 to list in the Bulletin indecent movies so that Catholics might avoid attending theatres showing such films.[101] Especially active in this work was the St. Louis Committee on Public Morals which not only censored movies but also removed objectionable pictures from saloons, asked the Post Office to forbid the mailing of obscene post cards, tried to prevent "promiscuous swimming at the same time by both sexes in public pools," and warred against billboards and penny arcades.[102]

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[97] Ibid., November, 1912.

[98] Supra. , pp. 158 and 165.

[99] Boston, February 7, 1913, Dietz, ACB.

[100] June 23, 1913, Dietz, ACB; Bulletin, June, 1915, for dangers of YMCA.

[101] Bulletin, December, 1912 and passim; TCC-R, March 29, 1912.

The Federation was encouraged by the continued support of the latest Apostolic Delegate, Archbishop John Bonzano, who had replaced Cardinal Diomede Falconio in 1912. Bonzano had attended the first Convention held after his appointment, where he endured the heat of a Louisville summer nobly.[103] Matre announced in the Bulletin for May, 1914, that Bonzano further endorsed the AFCS by telling the Knights of Columbus at their national Convention in Columbus in 1914, "It is time for the Knights of Columbus to join the Federation."

As substitute for Father Dietz in the Social Service office, Kliefoth used his initiative whenever he was given the opportunity. On July 2, 1914, John R. Commons of the University of Wisconsin, wrote to Kliefoth about a brief that was being prepared to present to the Industrial Relations Commission for a hearing of the Catholic Societies. Commons had been one of Kliefoth's professors at the University and advised the bright young man to consult Father Ryan on the matter of the brief.[104] When Ryan agreed to assist Kliefoth, the latter said that he wanted to present briefly why the Church was interested in trade-unions, in industries, in unemployment, sickness, accidents, old age, low wages, etc. Secondly, he wanted to trace what the Church had done in the past and what its program would be in the future. He said that the Commission wanted to know what the Church was doing in both this country and in Europe.[105]

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[102] Report of Committee of Public Morals, 1914-1915, ACB.

[103] Western Watchman, August 29, 1912.

[104] Commons to Kliefoth, Madison, Dietz, ACB.

Father Ryan answered Kliefoth on July 14, 1914, saying "the interest of the Church in social and industrial questions is based primarily on moral grounds, charity and justice" and the encyclicals of Leo XIII and Pius X. In America, he wrote, the Church had expressed itself through Cardinal O'Connell's Pastoral, the resolutions of the AFCS and the utterances of individuals with the proper ecclesiastical approvals. Furthermore, he added, "The Church is not interested as a social reform organizer but as a teacher and defender of right and reasonable life; for the latter is impossible without reasonable industrial and social conditions and environment."[106] Ryan told Kliefoth that he hoped for a hearing later before the Commission.[107]

In the absence of Dietz, the burden of the coming Commission together with its two extra Conferences fell upon Kliefoth. Although Dietz had twice assured Bishop Muldoon that Kliefoth was trustworthy and capable,[108] Muldoon himself issued the official call to the conference of Catholic social reform movements to be held in Baltimore on September 27, 1914. He asked each organization "to be represented at this conference by a delegate; to report on the works accomplished; and to help evolve concerted plans from a free discussion of details."[109] Before he left for Europe, Dietz reported to Muldoon that the responses to the invitations to both the Insurance Conference and the Social Movement Conference were good.[110]

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[105] Kliefoth to Ryan, Milwaukee, July 10, 1914, Dietz, (copy), ACB.

[106] Ryan to Kliefoth, St. Paul, July 14, 1914, Dietz, ACB.

[107] Ibid., July 9, 1914. See Dietz to Frank P. Walsh (Industrial Relations Committee Chairman), Hot Springs, January 13, 1915, Dietz, ACB, inquiring how Dietz can follow up Kliefoth's brief.

[108] Dietz to Muldoon, n.p., June 20, 1914, Dietz, (copy), ACB.

For several reasons the Convention in Baltimore in 1914 was important in the history of the Federation. The city had been selected "out of respect for the Cardinal"[111] and to enlist the support of Baltimoreans for the AFCS. Cardinal Gibbons had been in Rome; he returned to America in late summer. Since he was forced to go back to Rome almost immediately on account of the death of Pope Pius X, the federationists feared he might not be home in time for the Convention. But having arrived too late to assist in the election of Pope Benedict XV, Gibbons left Rome within a week for America.

Baltimore was gaily decorated for the Star-Spangled Banner Centennial, September 6 to 13,[112] and remained bedecked for the mammoth parade planned for the Federation Convention.[113] At the opening Mass in the Cathedral of the Assumption, Bishop Joseph Schrembs delivered the sermon. "With President Wilson at Franklin Street Presbyterian Church only a block away... Schrembs...called upon three million members of the American Federation of Catholic Societies to insist that the national Administration put a speedy end" to the violations of religious liberties in Mexico.[114] Local federations had already protested about conditions in Mexico,[115] and the National Convention made the resolution on Mexico one of its most important pieces of business. The AFCS sent a committee comprised of Reverend Richard Tierney, S.J., of *America*, John Whalen of Brooklyn and Henry V. Cunningham of Boston to President Wilson on the day following the Convention to present to him the Convention's resolution.[116] They took with them, also, the resolution to have such papers and magazines as *The Menace* prohibited from going through the mails.

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[109] Muldoon to Kenkel, Milwaukee, June 4, 1914, Kenkel, AUND.

[110] Dietz to Muldoon, June 20, 1914, op. cit.

[111] Sun (Baltimore), September 24, 1914.

[112] Sun, August 2; September 5,19,1914; TCC-R, October 2, 1914.

[113] James Lechert, "I Remember...A Parade for Cardinal Gibbons," Sun, July 14, 1957. In an interview on June 25, 1960 with the writer, Mr. Lechert said that as a school boy he participated in the parade for the Cardinal, apparently only incidentally for the Federation.

These resolutions exacted from Cardinal Gibbons his first direct instructions regarding the work of the Federation. Bishop McFaul wrote to the Cardinal to thank him for the hospitality shown the Federation in Baltimore and to report that Wilson "was very gracious and said he was already acting along the lines suggested" in the resolutions submitted by the committee.[117] Later McFaul asked the Cardinal's permission to "write to all the Archbishops and Bishops in the United States asking to lend aid in these matters."[118] The Cardinal's reply was to the point:

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[114] *Sun*, September 28, 1914. Wilson was in Baltimore to visit his wife's cousin, Mary Hoyt, Ray S. Baker, *Woodrow Wilson*, 8 vols. (Garden City, 1935), V, 290.

[115] German Catholic Federation of California to Wilson, San Francisco, September 19, 1914; Catholic Federation of Santa Clara to Wilson, Santa Clara, September, 1914; Cooke to Wilson, Brooklyn, September 20, 1914, (Telegram), NA. All answered by Lansing.

[116] Denechaud to Bryan, Baltimore, September 29, 1914; acknowledged by the usual form letter by Lansing, October 6, 1914, NA; *Sun*, September 30, 1914.

> I am strongly in favor of the first of the two alternatives which you propose, namely, that the Federation ought to wait awhile in order to see what the Administration is doing and intends to do. The Federation has done enough in presenting clearly and emphatically the mind of the Catholics...upon the two subjects... and it should now exercise a dignified patience with the Government, implying faith in our Administration to correct or ameliorate the evils....The reasons which prompt me to take this position may be summed up briefly as follows:
> 1st. The situation...in Mexico is not something new....
> 2nd. We must remember that the persecutions of the present are...waged by...the faithless children of our own Church....
> 3rd. The President...has written me a number of times... of his efforts to help us...regretting his powerlessness to succeed....
> 4th. From many reliable sources I have learned that... there have been many exaggerated statements concerning the ill-deeds in Mexico....
> In regard to the Menace (*sic*), I have never been very desirous for it's (*sic*) suppression, for the reason that it is not alone in the field of nefarious papers.... Moreover, the American public is unutterably opposed to the suppression of the free press...they often confuse liberty with license...[If suppressed] the Menace (*sic*) would raise it's head shortly under a new name.[119]

The Cardinal was exercising wisdom in his estimate of *The*

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[117] McFaul to Gibbons, Trenton, October 2, 1914, Gibbons, AAB.

[118] *Ibid.*, October 15, 1914.

[119] Gibbons to McFaul, Baltimore, October 16, 1914, Gibbons, (copy), AAB.

Menace. When the Canadian Government passed a law forbidding its passing through the mails, the paper indelicately referred to the attitude of its opponents.[120] In sympathy with The Menace, and in opposition to the AFCS, W. W. Prescott of the Protestant Magazine asked William J. Bryan, Secretary of State, for an official copy of Federation's protest.[121] Bryan replied through his assistant, Lansing, refusing to violate the privacy of the mails, and then Prescott protested against efforts "to reinstate the Roman Catholic Church in Mexico against the will of the people of that country" and "to deprive Protestant publications of the privilege of second class entry by the threat of the loss of Roman Catholic support at the next election."[122]

Matre wrote another letter to Bryan despite the recommendations of Gibbons. This communication brought to the attention of the State Department the expense borne by the Catholic Church Extension Society in aiding refugees from Mexico.[123] Lansing promised that the Government would bear the expense "as a necessary incident to the evacuation of Vera Cruz."[124] But when Father Tierney added his protest to the Federation's, Bryan wrote that the President had said, "I am distressed that our Catholic fellow-countrymen do not more fully realize how frequent and serious our attempts have been to act in the interest of their people in Mexico."[125]

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[120] March 14,28, 1914. In essence The Menace said that the Church can say "to hell with government" while at the same time permitting young girls to be debauched in the confessional box, etc., but when the truth is told by The Menace the evidence is debarred from the mails. Father Dietz and others at the National Civic Federation's meeting in Richmond on December 8, 1914, attempted to have the NCF pass a resolution stating that the NCF "did not sympathize with the methods employed by a certain publication known as 'The Menace' and like publications in slandering and abusing one of the most prominent Christian Churches in America," but the resolution was not presented to the meeting, Bulletin, January, 1915.

[121] New York, October 23, 1914, NA.

[122] Prescott to Bryan, New York, October 12, 1914, NA. Acknowledged October 17, 1914. The Protestant Magazine was begun in 1909 to counteract the tendency of Catholics "to make America Catholic." Its life was for six years, but it matched The Menace in choice articles. Cf. Jeremiah Crowley, Romanism, A Menace to the Nation (Wheaton, Ill., 1912), pp. 554-556, for an evaluation of the Protestant view of Federation.

The Social Service Conference was held at the Maryland Theatre on September 27, where discussions and resolutions treated such topics as labor legislation, compensation, and follow-up care for immigrants. In the annual report, the SSC announced that the Commission had sent two circulars to a thousand centers of the Federation; had sold 13,450 pamphlets and books in 424 small lots and 16 larger lots; had sent the Newsletter to the Catholic press in every language - about 2,400 altogether. In addition, it had corresponded to the extent of over 2,000 exchanges of mail; had sponsored 84 lectures, mainly in Wisconsin, but as far as Seattle and Boston.

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[123] Matre to Bryan, St. Louis, November 21, 1914, NA; cf. Francis C. Kelley, The Story of Extension (Chicago, 1922), pp. 178ff.; and The Bishop Jots It Down (New York, 1939), pp. 192-194; John M. Blum, Joe Tumulty and the Wilson Era (Boston, 1951), pp. 91-93; Ray Stannard Baker, Woodrow Wilson, 8 vols. (Garden City, 1927-1939), I, 121-123, indicates that Wilson was not anti-Catholic.

[124] Lansing to Matre, Washington, December 10, 1914, NA.

[125] Bryan to Tierney, Washington, November 27, 1914, NA.

The SSC had investigated strikes; had held conferences with Catholic and non-Catholic organizations in similar work in the United States and in five foreign countries. Catholic Labor Day celebrations had been encouraged, and the office was in touch with labor leaders. A school of social service was making progress, and there had been practical cooperation with the Industrial Relations Commission of the United States government, with the National Civic Federation and with similar movements.[126]

The SSC adopted at the Baltimore Convention significant resolutions on the points: The SSC was to be continued with seven members: three to serve three years; three to serve two years; one to serve one year, appointed by the President to serve three and one years alternately and to meet immediately upon appointment. Funds were to be derived from the entire annual fees of the Associate Membership to be collected by the Commission and placed in its treasury. Two such general funds of the Federation were to be determined by the Executive Board at the Convention, one for the Federation in general and the other for the SS Commission. Furthermore, the SSC was to be permitted to adopt methods of securing funds subject to the approval of the Executive Board.[127] In the amended Constitution the Associate Members were to pay five dollars to the SSC and receive the official organ of the Federation. Membership certificates would also be issued to all those who bought thirty or more copies of the Bulletin.[128]

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[126] Minutes of the Conference of the Social Service Commission, MS. at ACB; Minutes SSC. Bulletin, February, 1913, 1914; Dietz to Muldoon, n.p., January 14, 1915; Heckenkamp to Dietz, Quincy, January 16, 1915; Cavanaugh to Dietz, Notre Dame, January 15, 1915, Dietz, ACB.

[127] Minutes. SSC.

The Congress of Catholic Fraternal Insurance Societies was held in the Rennert Hotel on September 29, the third night of the Baltimore Convention, with the Catholic Knights of America, Catholic Knights and Ladies of America, Catholic Mutual Benevolent Association, Catholic Western Union, Polish Catholic Union of America, Catholic Ladies of Columbus and Catholic Knights of St. George of Pittsburgh present. It had long been the opinion of such men as Heckenkamp of the CWU and Henry Seimer of the CKA of St. Louis that there were too many fraternal organizations. However, there was no consolidation at the Conference; in fact, the representatives said that there was plenty of room for more fraternal societies.[129] The delegates took the "position that the state shall not undertake to do for societies what societies are able to do for themselves,"[130] and were pleased that many of the trade-unions were offering insurance plans.

At Baltimore, too, an agreement between the AFCS and the Central Verein was verified:

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[128] Constitution and By-Laws, The American Federation of Catholic Societies. Revised at Baltimore, Maryland, 1914. (Cincinnati, n.d.); Bulletin, November, 1914; cf. Vonderheide to Dietz, Louisville, July 24, 1913; Carey to Dietz, Grand Rapids, October 10, 1913, Dietz, ACB; Fox, "Dietz," p. 187.

[129] Minutes of the Congress of Catholic Fraternal Insurance Societies, ACB; Heckenkamp to Dietz, Quincy, September 15, 1913; Seimer to Dietz, St. Louis, June 9, 1914, Dietz, ACB. Bulletin, October, 1914.

[130] Bulletin, July, 1915.

I. In order that misunderstandings be removed and harmonious co-operation between said bodies be assured, it is hereby agreed that the Central Verein and its component organizations co-operate as heretofore with the American Federation of Catholic Societies and pay into the treasury of the National Federation the annual fee required of National Organizations.

II. Any German American Society affiliated with C.V. organizations, which, in addition, desire to join a local, County or State Federation, shall therewith assume the burden of such affiliation, I.E. the regular per capita to Federation. Such affiliation shall be optional, shall be made on the initiative of such society, and shall be unsolicited in the sense of this declaration.

III. Organization and propaganda among American Catholics of German birth and descent is the right of the Central Verein. It is hereby specified that agitation and propaganda for direct affiliation with Federation shall not be conducted among societies, already affiliated to C.V. organizations, by branches or officers of Federation.

I.V. (Sic) Co-operation between local, County and State leagues and Federations in agitation and in society activity is to be desired.

V. This declaration is submitted subject to the approval of the Executive Committee of the A.F. of C.S. and the C.V.[131]

To satisfy the agreement in the declaration with the Central Verein and the requests of new branches of the Federation, the AFCS included in the revised Constitution the provision that the smallest unit "from which National representation is permitted is the County or Diocesan Federation, the parish and Catholic institution." Each Bishop was allowed, under this plan, to send three delegates-at-large. In addition, permanent headquarters were to be established in a centrally located city. To facilitate the work of the SSC, the number of members on the Committee was increased to seven, and the Secretary was requested to report to the Executive Board and Convention annually, and to the National President and Secretary quarterly.[132]

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[131] A declaration covering the Relation between the American Federation of Catholic Societies and the G.R.Central Verein, n.d., ACB. All punctuation and capitalization has been left as it appeared in the original document.

The delegates at Baltimore elected John Whalen of Brooklyn as President and made few changes among the Vice-Presidents. Colonel Schulte of Detroit became Treasurer and Chief Whirlwind Soldier, the Color Bearer. Hagerty wrote to Dietz to ask who Whalen was, and Kliefoth replied for Dietz that he was probably one of the most prominent men in New York. He was monied, proprietor of the Polo Grounds, a judge, and a Dean of Fordham University.[133]

World War I had broken out in Europe during Father Dietz's trip which was curtailed as a consequence of the confusion incident to the conflict. Dietz realized very quickly what might happen to German-Americans if the war lasted any length of time, and he wrote to Frey, President of the Central Verein, that he believed in the contribution that German-American Catholicism had to make to the cause of religion and patriotism in America. He warned Frey that there was danger to Germans of "self-isolation," and that it would be wise for them to use their influence through non-German avenues.[134] Although Dietz would not have one German-American society dissolve, he maintained "that the influence and power of the Central Verein can make itself felt more effectively through the Federation, at least in all the great national problems."[135]

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[132] Constitution, 1914, op. cit. Central headquarters were not established.

[133] Hagerty to Dietz, Columbus, October 24, 1914; Kliefoth to Hagerty, Milwaukee, October 30, 1914, Dietz, (copy), ACB.

Earlier in January Dietz had written a letter to Kenkel asking, "Whatever differences there may have been imaginary and otherwise, (sic) let us sink them in the crying need for unity of action. If your bureau and and (sic) our Commission could find a common head-quarters, thei (sic) example would have a determinate influence on other nationalities."[136] But Dietz did not mail this letter. However, he wrote in March, 1915, to Kenkel telling him of the unmailed letter and adding, "The good example of the Germans and the Irish in true Catholic American harmony is necessary to have the determining influence on all other nationalities in America, whose affederation we need so badly in the affairs of the nation and in the interests of the soul."[137]

Neither Frey nor Kenkel was eager to accept Dietz's overtures, and the latter wrote in March, 1915, to Rt. Rev. G. W. Heer, Protonotary Apostolic and Chairman of the Committee for

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[134] Dietz to Frey, n.p., January 28, 1915, Dietz, (copy), ACB.

[135] Ibid., March 5, 1915; cf. Fox, "Dietz," Chapter VI.

[136] Dietz to Kenkel, Milwaukee, January 6, 1915, Dietz, (copy), ACB.

[137] Ibid., March 1, 1915, Dietz, ACB; Kenkel, AUND. Cf. Ibid., March 18, 1915.

Social Propaganda, "Dr. Ryan...bears me out in this assertion.... [that] Bishop Muldoon...is much put out at Father Dietz's renewed attempt at amalgamation."[138] Both Frey and Kenkel cited Matre's "jealousy of the C.V." and his "estimation that Federation and Central-Verein should both go their way and follow their own course." Kenkel stated emphatically that he had suggested years ago that the two organizations should meet and confer on occasions, but that Matre had been opposed to the idea.[139] Obviously, Dietz had opposition in his own camp to his plans for greater cooperation among the Catholic social service organizations, but the Central Verein's interpretation of Bishop Muldoon's statement did not conform to the Prelate's perennial interest in social work.

Dietz in the meantime never ran out of ideas to promote Catholic interest in current social problems. The European war had curtailed the numbers of immigrants arriving in the United States, but the settlement of newcomers remained a lasting problem. Consequently, Dietz selected immigration as the topic of the SSC meeting to be held at the AFCS Convention in Toledo in 1915. When questioned about the topic, McFaul felt that the two topics "The 'Menace' and the Mexican Question were sufficient to handle,"[140] but the Executive Board approved the topic. Despite this quasi-victory over

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[138] St. Louis, March 6, 1915, Kenkel, (copy), AUND.

[139] Ibid., Frey to Kenkel, August 16, 1913, loc.cit.

[140] McFaul to Dietz, Trenton, February 13, 1915, Dietz, ACB.

McFaul, Dietz had real misgivings about holding a Convention at all because friction over nationality as a result of the war could ruin the meeting. He suggested that if the money "a convention would cost were turned over to the Holy Pontiff, Federation would live up to its best ideals without rather than with a convention."[141] As Ordinary of the host diocese, Schrembs would have profited by the postponement of the meeting, but he answered Dietz rather significantly, "I fear that an interruption, or rather discontinuance of the convention of the Federation even for one year, would have the tendency to kill the movement."[142]

Behind the scenes of the Convention which opened in Toledo in August, 1915, many difficulties arose. Hagerty had been unable to "manage the Immigration conference, turning it over to Muldoon." Dietz's office was understaffed, but worse than that, the priest was conscious of a "lack of confidence in the things nearest" his heart.[143] National President Whalen objected to "breaking up the Convention" for the Insurance Conference and scheduled it for 8:30 A.M. When Bishop Muldoon discovered that the Conference had been held without him, he blamed Dietz who defended himself, "but you told me you'd not be there and for me to do the best I could."[144] "Everyone at the convention was too busy to give much attention" to the SSC report, which, according to the Constitution, was to be made annually.[145]

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[141] Dietz to Schrembs, Hot Springs, May 28, 1915, Dietz, (copy), ACB.

[142] Schrembs to Dietz, Toledo, May 31, 1915, Dietz, ACB.

[143] Dietz to Heckenkamp, n.p., July 16, 1915; to Breuhl, n.p., May 21, 1915, Dietz, (copies), ACB.

Dietz mentioned in his report that he had tried to obtain permission in Toledo for a School of Social Service, but he had failed just as he had in the SSC meeting on February 22, 1915. However, he did receive a slight concession in being allowed to use his own time for the project. And he was also granted the permission to live in Hot Springs. He reported little on the Second Insurance Congress, but it had apparently been pushed through rather rapidly according to his letter to Bishop Muldoon.

Immigration was the topic for the Social Service Conference over which Bishop Muldoon presided. Reverend Francis C. Kelley, President of Extension Society, spoke on "What the Church Has Done and May Do for the Immigrant;" Reverend Frederic Siedenburg, S.J., of Loyola University gave "A General Survey of the Immigration Question;" and Charles Fay, President of the Common Cause Society, Boston, explained the "Difficulties and Dangers of the Catholic Immigrant."[146] There was, however, no resolution about the restriction or non-restriction of immigrants.

The resolutions of the Toledo Convention included such social questions as collective bargaining, trade agreements, voluntary arbitration, "concilliations," formation of Catholic social agencies, business girls' cooperative clubs, additional interest in the problems of young men and boys, lay retreats, Catholic night schools, and schools for the deaf and blind.[147] Father William Engelen, S.J., professor of moral philosophy at St. John's College in Toledo, wrote to Kenkel that these resolutions were "Nothing but a sum of the at present popular reforms, but no principles. Temporizing an other (sic) sign of the widest ignorance."[148]

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[144] Dietz to Muldoon, n.p., August 26, 1915, Dietz, (copy), ACB.

[145] Muldoon to Dietz, n.p., after Convention, Dietz, ACB.

[146] Minutes SSC.

Matre announced to the general meeting in Toledo that thirty-one national organizations had affiliated with the Federation including the Catholic Press Association, the International Federation of Catholic Alumnae and the National Catholic Educational Association. It was Matre's opinion that bigotry was on the wane as a result of the work of the CPA, the Sunday Visitor, the Knights of Columbus investigations towards their report on prejudices, and such Protestant ministers as Washington Gladden.[149] The Toledo Record of August 27, 1915, reported that in thanking the Press Association for its support of the AFCS, Matre had said that the Federation's "success would not be possible if we did not have behind it the Catholic Press Association. With deepest gratitude we hope that you will continue to help the lay apostolate."

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[147] Bulletin, September, 1915.

[148] Toledo, October 18, 1915, Kenkel, AUND. Father Engelen was a close friend of Kenkel and a staunch supporter of the Central Verein.

[149] Bulletin, September, 1915.

Even before the Toledo Convention, Dietz had submitted a Memorial to the American Federation of Labor to attempt to bring the AFL into closer relations with the AFCS. The Memorial was presented to the Executive Board of the AFL in January, 1915, stating:

> Sirs:
>
> For a number of years a fraternal relationship has existed between the American Federation of Labor and the American Federation of Catholic Societies, a federal body with a membership of 3,000,000, organized mostly in fraternal associations.
>
> As a result of the intimate contact of the Catholic fraternal delegates with the American labor movement, the American Federation of Labor has been fairly and consistently interpreted to the American Catholic public and to the Catholic movements in Canada and Europe.
>
> Through the official organ of the American Federation of Catholic Societies, the press service to the Catholic and other news-papers, the publications of the Social Service Commission, at its meetings and conventions, local, state, and national, the Catholic Federation has been an ardent advocate of trade-unionism, subject only to the modification of Catholic thought.
>
> It may be truly said that the aims, policies and achievements of the American Federation of Labor have received at the hands of the American Federation of Catholic Societies, a whole-hearted sympathy and often-times practical co-operation, that challenges comparison with every movement outside of the American Federation of Labor itself.
>
> This has contributed not a little to the growth of the American Federation of Labor in numbers and moral influence both within the labor movement and outside of it. But there has been some criticism of the fraternal delegateship at the recent convention at Philadelphia. Whether just or unjust, we need not

now consider, but it has raised the very proper question how it might be possible to make the relation more vital, definite and progressive.

There are many reasons for the fraternal relationship and the developments that may properly be expected to result. First of all the social reason: No subsidiary national movement can afford to isolate itself in the nation. Neither the American Federation of Labor nor the American Federation of Catholic Societies can fulfill its mission unless properly related with other forces that constitute American society.

Secondly: Similarity of interests.
American Federation of Labor aims to better the material, intellectual and moral interests of the American workingman, with special emphasis upon the material; the aim of the American Federation of Catholic Societies is the same with the emphasis, primarily on religion.

Third: Practical co-operation. There is much common ground and therefore a vast field for cooperation. There may be 1) complete co-operation; 2) co-operation by compromise; 3) impossible compromise.
In the last case, each party will march separately, in the previous cases, influence and power is multiplied.

For instance: There would be unanimity of opinion upon policies resulting from the principle that the state shall not do for associations and unions, what they ought to do for themselves without state aid: e.g. hours of labor, minimum wage, social insurance, etc., etc.
2) Industrial education without discrimination against the parochial school system would be to the point on the score of compromise.
3) There could be no compromise on policies that would adopt fundamental tenets of Marxism, prohibition by legislation, or any other proposition socially unsound.

The fraternal relation ought to be mutual, frank and virile.
a) The American Federation of Catholic Societies shall send its delegate or delegates to American Federation of Labor and vice versa. Further: an exchange of fraternal delegates also for city

> central and state bodies. Co-operation of committees on industrial education, legislation and social service, strikes, etc.
>
> b) Frank relations. Delegates shall represent on the one hand the views of the Federation of Labor and on the other the views of the Federation of Catholic Societies, each giving sympathetic and honest official counsel, each shall review with perfect freedom the work of the other, each shall obey whatever rules of courtesy or procedure are mutually agreed upon.
>
> c) Virile relations. The function shall not be one of mutual admiration merely, but full of meaning and intent, and within the range of possibilists (*sic*), whatever the "ism" that is admired most. Whatever the prejudice, it should lead to a stiffening of manhood.
>
> This, gentlemen, is a broad and high conception of the office of fraternal delegate, and to it
>
> We beg to subscribe. With best wishes
>
> Yours truly,
>
> THE SOCIAL SERVICE COMMISSION[150]

Although Father Cavanaugh and Denis Hayes had an elevated opinion of the Memorial and wrote to Dietz that they approved of it,[151] Frank Duffy told him he had "caused ill feeling on account of injecting religion into the movement when no one's religion or religious beliefs were interfered with in any manner, shape or form or referred to at any time." Dietz, therefore, according to Duffy, had placed upon Catholic delegates in the AFL the obligation to vote "against fraternal delegates from all religious denominations" at the next Convention.[152]

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[150] In ACB; Fox, "Dietz," pp. 194-197.

[151] Cavanaugh to Dietz, Notre Dame, January 19, 1915; Hayes to Dietz, January 19, 1915, (night letter), Dietz, ACB.

[152] Duffy to Dietz, Indianapolis, September 10, 1915, Dietz, ACB.

Gompers, ever a friend of Dietz, studied the document with care, and then replied in an eight-page letter. He said he appreciated what Dietz was trying to do, but he could not see how the AFL could enter into any such agreement. Since the aim of the AFCS was primarily religion, it was a bar in itself to any agreement with the AFL. However, Gompers did agree that there was much "common ground for cooperation but...that cooperation can best be furthered by each body pursuing its own course, free to dissent from any matter upon which in the judgment of each body freedom of expression and action may be necessary." Finally, Gompers pointed out that the "AFL was not the parent organization of the trade union movement, but that the trade unions" were; therefore, the Executive Board of the AFL was not "empowered to authorize the exchange of fraternal delegates;"[153] that power belonged to the rank and file.

As a result of the Memorial and for the failure of religious groups to employ union labor, the Building Trades Council of Milwaukee passed a resolution to request that delegates from national and international unions, etc., vote in San Francisco on November 8, 1915, against the acceptance and seating of all fraternal delegates representing religious organizations. The

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[153] Gompers and Duffy to Dietz, Washington, September 25, 1915, Dietz, ACB. Cf. Philip Taft, The A.F. of L. in the Time of Gompers (New York, 1957), pp. 337-339; Fox, "Dietz," pp. 197-198, 394-399; McDonagh, "Catholic Attitudes Toward Labor," pp. 148ff; Sister Joan de Lourdes, "Catholic Attitude toward American Labor 1884-1919," (Unpublished master's dissertation, Columbia University, 1940), pp. 67-71, 101-102.

Council said, "we are not opposed to religion, but we know as Trade Unionists, that the denominational churches have not lived up to the Trade Union principles."[154] Here they referred to two Catholic institutions in Milwaukee, the Sacred Heart Sanitorium and the Knights of Columbus Club House, which were built with non-union labor.[155] The resolution was not passed in San Francisco, but in a sense Dietz had stirred up a hornet's nest which did not settle down quickly.

Some publicity devoted to Dietz's publications brought upon him the charge that he was partial to the labor side of the labor question, a feature that disqualified him as editor of the Bulletin in the mind of John Hogan, editor of the Gateway in Detroit.[156] In reply to the charge, Dietz could only protest that for years he had been trying to obtain an official expression of Catholic policy relative to labor, but he had not succeeded.[157]

Dietz was not only in difficulties because of his Memorial to the AFL, he was also under a cloud in Federation because he had "committed S[ocial] S[ervice] to Hot Springs without consulting the Executive Committee" when he "had no definite contract to submit." Muldoon predicted that "Federation will be slow to undertake any new venture but fast to take credit."[158] Dietz had been acting as if the Social Service Commission were operating his school at Hot Springs even after the Executive Board had refused his request to bring the school under the Commission. Furthermore, he had not received title to the property he was using in Hot Springs and had no contract to submit to the Executive Board. The Federation was slow to realize the need for social service schools, even when three Catholic schools were already functioning at Loyola University, Spring Bank, and Fordham.

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[154] ACB.

[155] Fleming to Dietz, Milwaukee, August 31, 1915, Dietz, ACB. Fleming was Secretary of the Trades Council. Dietz made several attempts to have Catholic organizations use union labor, Dietz to Platt, February 11, 1915; to Grand Knight of Columbus, Milwaukee, September 2, 1915; to Bishop Hanna, November 6, 1915; to Clark, September 9, 1915; Dietz, (copies), ACB.

[156] Hogan to Canevin, Detroit, December 15, 1915, Dietz, ACB. Bishop Canevin sent the letter to Dietz, and the priest's reply is written on the back.

[157] Dietz to Canevin, n.p., January 7, 1916, Dietz, (copy), ACB.

In addition to differences about the school, Dietz and the Executive Board disagreed about the Burnett Bill on immigration which included a literacy clause. The Bill had been back and forth between the two Houses of Congress. When Matre published a statement that the Federation had "always been opposed" to the Bill, Muldoon questioned his authority.[159] Replying, Matre told him, "The letter which Federation sent to President Wilson, asking him to veto the measure, was submitted to Archbishop Messmer who mailed it personally to Washington." He added that the Executive Board had voted in favor of vetoing the Bill.[160] Since Muldoon had attended every meeting of the Executive Board, it would appear that the Advisers were divided, with Muldoon on one side and the Messmer-McFaul faction on the other.

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[158] Muldoon to Dietz, Rockford, January 18, 1916, Dietz, ACB.

[159] Dietz to Matre, Hot Springs, March 28, 1916, Dietz, (copy), ACB.

According to Father Ryan, the "conservatives" in Federation were taking the stand indicated by Gibbons when he interpreted the literacy test of the Burnett Bill to mean "ability to read English," but Father Ryan had "undeceived" the Cardinal.[161] Both Ryan and Dietz had given grave consideration to the Burnett Bill and decided that in it there should be "restriction for economic reasons," and that some of the objections to the Bill were not "patriotic but plutocratic."[162] Even though Dietz disagreed with the action of the Executive Board on the Bill, he knew that emphasis would "be laid upon deference to the wishes of the ecclesiastical superiors."[163]

Some actions of the ecclesiastical superiors in the spring of 1916 were very revealing: McFaul indicated that he had not the interest of the whole Federation at heart, and the Archbishops practically ignored it. In response to a circular asking for opinions on the weekly Newsletter McFaul stated, "As I do not belong to the SSC, I have never taken much interest in the work."[164] That was sufficiently blunt to eradicate any doubts Dietz may have had about the Bishop's attitude. On May 3, 1916, the Archbishops held their annual meeting where they discussed the means of "training and educating...Catholic people, both in the truth and sanctity of the Church and the falsehood and viciousness of the attacks against it." The Prelates accepted as exemplary the recommendations of the "Commission on Religious Prejudices...created in 1914" by the Knights of Columbus which had submitted its "first complete report in the latter part of 1915."[165] What the Commission recommended was the same program operating, with more or less success, within the AFCS: lectures, pamphlets, investigations, etc.

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[160] Matre to Dietz, Chicago, April 6, 1916, Dietz, ACB.

[161] Ryan to Dietz, Washington, April 15, 1916, Dietz, ACB.

[162] Ibid., April 1, 1916.

[163] Dietz to Ryan, Hot Springs, March 29; April 7, 1916, Dietz, (copies), ACB. Kenkel wrote to Dietz that the action of the AFCS Executive Board was "inopportune" because Wilson had indicated he would veto the Bill, but with the Catholic opposition, Congress might have been able to "scrape together the necessary two-thirds to override the veto on account of the protest," St. Louis, March 17, 1914, Dietz, ACB. William Green, Secretary-Treasurer of UMW, on the other hand, regretted Wilson's veto and that Congress had failed to pass the Bill over his veto. He stated to Dietz that the literacy test might not be the answer, but something was needed, Indianapolis, February 9, 1915, Dietz, ACB. Cf. Bulletin, February, 1915.

These attitudes did not dampen the enthusiasm for the "Catholic Week" of August 20, 1916, in New York, which brought the Federation's history to a climax. Cardinal Farley spent the greater part of the summer preparing for "an inspirational example for Catholics of the world to follow,"[166] even to such details as who would wear uniforms.[167] With the Federation, the Catholic Young Men's National Union, New York State League of German Societies, Central Verein and several other organizations would meet simultaneously.[168] All were eager to have the three American Cardinals, Gibbons, Farley and O'Connell, and the Apostolic Delegate present at the mammoth meeting, but Cardinal O'Connell was unable until the last minute to accept the numerous invitations sent him.

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[164] McFaul to Dietz, Trenton, April, 1916, Dietz, ACB.

[165] Minutes of the Archbishops' Meeting, Washington, May 3, 1916, AAB.

[166] Harson to Cockran, New York, February 8, 1916, NYPL. There is no mention in the Cockran correspondence of the Federation even though the great orator was a principal speaker at the New York Convention; Bulletin, March, 1916.

While preparations were going into the final stages, newspaper men made a request often submitted to the Federation in the past. They would have preferred copies of the speeches in advance of the Convention so that they might devote their time at the meetings to "news" items. "Press and stenographic work should be distinguished from each other,"[169] wrote Charles Daly of Boston to Dietz. But the latter could do nothing to help the press because such plans lay "with local federations."[170] Daly persisted, to no avail, stating that no undertaking could be successful unless there were "country-wide propaganda by the National Federation" and "bigger men interested."[171] In one way

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[167] Farley-Lavelle correspondence, summer, 1916, especially July 29, 1916, AANY; also Farley to Priests of Archdiocese, August 2, 1916, AANY, AABo, photostat, AUND; Bulletin, June, 1916.

[168] TR, May 16, 1916; Engelen to Kenkel, Toledo, January 18, 1915 (should be 1916), Kenkel, AUND; Bulletin, April, 1916.

[169] Daly to Dietz, Boston, June 3, 1916, Dietz, ACB; Bulletin, September, 1916, . .

[170] Dietz to Daly, n.p., August 9, 1916, Dietz, (copy), ACB.

[171] Daly to Matre (cc. to Dietz), Boston, July 28, 1916, Dietz, ACB.

Daly was correct, and in another he erred. The New York meeting was a success, but the Federation failed.

Externally, the New York Convention was a realization of everyone's highest expectations. Madison Square Garden was filled for the largest mass meeting ever attempted by the Federation. The three Cardinals and the Apostolic Delegate were surrounded by a colorful representation of the hierarchy and clergy, and the total picture presented an entirely different view of the Church than held by many non-Catholic observers. Father John Burke wrote that those who thought the "Church governs its children by secret methods" saw "the highest dignitaries of the American Church presiding at a meeting...to which the entire public was freely admitted," discussing in the "frankest manner... the work of the Catholic Church in America.../and/ the close and happy relations that should exist between ourselves and our separated brethren."[172]

The editors of The Outlook considered the "annual meeting in New York...as one of the important events of the time in the field of American religious life." It had "avoided partisan political expressions," and had indicated "that there is nothing in the spirit or doctrine of the Catholic Church in the United States which makes absolute loyalty to Catholic religious belief and absolute loyalty to the Republic of the United States in the slightest degree incompatible." Questions of Mexico and the European war had been "treated...with conservative wisdom." Furthermore, the "whole tone of the Convention may be said to have been in support of higher standards of morality in private life, in family life, in civic service, in patriotism, in the newspapers, and in international relations."[173]

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[172] John Burke, C.S.P., "The Catholic Federation Convention," Outlook, CXIII (August 30, 1916), 1031. Ten years earlier Burke had written that the layman was an extern in the organization of the Church, Burke to Kerby, November, 1906, ACUA.

Although Cardinal Merry Del Val had stated in 1912 that it was "not opportune to send a multiplicity" of documents granting the Papal blessing,[174] Benedict XV sent his benediction upon the New York Convention through Cardinal Gasparri.[175] Still further, after the Convention, Matre received word that the Holy See approved the resolutions on "Our Holy Father and Peace" and "Mexico."[176] No doubt the Federation had been lulled into a false sense of security although the organization was replete with inadequacies. And though it had been widely criticized, the Federation as late as 1916 was not yet really "organized."[177]

It is easier to evaluate the Federation in 1916 by what happened in the background of the Convention. After a great struggle, Dietz finally managed to bring before the Executive Committee the problem of the Women's Federation which had been in committee since 1913. Although Matre "objected to this particular department,"[178] it was brought under the SSC as a special department with Bishop Muldoon as chairman. In view of the objections, Muldoon warned Dietz not to let the women act without the Bishop's consent.[179]

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[173] Outlook, op.cit., 1030. Richard Matre lent the writer a scrapbook containing hundreds of clippings on the Convention from as many papers. The New York Times devoted the entire magazine section to the Convention.

[174] Merry Del Val to Bonzano, Vatican, July 17, 1912, Bonzano, AAD.

[175] Gasparri to Bonzano, October 11, 1915, AAD; Bonzano to Matre, Washington, November 9, 1915, Bonzano, AAD; Bulletin, September, 1916.

[176] Gasparri to Matre, Vatican, October 30, 1916, Bonzano, AAD.

[177] Interview.

Also in New York a "General informal meeting of Charity & Social workers of the United States-About 100 in attendance... decided to appoint a committee of 9 from the Federation, Central Verein, and Charity Conference to work out a plan."[180] The New York Times of August 20, 1916, reported that the "agitators for unity" in the Federation wanted a "coalescence, rather than cooperation." This article is a slightly garbled account of ideas the Times reporter gleaned from a pre-Convention session with some unidentified delegates. If Dietz were one of the "agitators," he was opposed to coalescence, according to his correspondence with Frey.[181] Frey wrote to Dietz in September expressing the doubt that "Federation had ratified the resolution to let Central Verein into closer touch with SSC." He further put the blame on the AFCS in the person of Whalen, whom he called a "political hack," and stated that the "Central Verein will go along its owne (*sic*) course."[182] However, before any further action was taken, the United States became involved in the war; and coordination in social action took a new course.

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[178] Conboy to Dietz, New York, October 7, 1916, Dietz, ACB.

[179] Muldoon to Dietz, Rockford, September 15, 1916, Dietz, ACB.

[180] Muldoon's Diary, Saturday [August 19, 1916?]; cf. Gleason, "Central-Verein," p. 333; Fox, "Dietz," pp. 222-223, 225-227; New York Times, August 20, 1916.

[181] n.p., March 12, 1915, Dietz, (copy), ACB.

Another misunderstanding incident to the New York Convention revolved around the resolutions submitted by the SSC. After considerable friction, Muldoon proposed to Dietz that he submit the same resolutions they made in 1915 "with any additions thought necessary."[183] For years Dietz had been trying to escape such stereotyping, but in this case he was forced to bow to his superior's wishes. Altogether, Dietz realized in New York that he was disliked in many quarters.

In September he wrote to several of the leading members of the Federation stating that he had noticed their unfriendliness to him during the Convention. From Gonner he heard, "You can ask *no approval* of your work from me, because I have *openly* stated my opinion in your presence in the Board Meeting at Chicago...I cannot see that you are improving matters by asking for a written statement from me."[184] Frank Slattery of Boston said that Dietz was too sensitive and impatient, and thus he alienated others of a more cautious nature.[185] His Central

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[182] Frey to Dietz, New York, September 14, 1916, Dietz, ACB.

[183] Muldoon to Dietz, Rockford, August 5, 1916, Dietz, ACB.

[184] Gonner to Dietz, Dubuque, September 18, 1916, Dietz, ACB; cf. Fox, "Dietz," pp. 222-225.

[185] Slattery to Dietz, Boston, September 9, 1916, Dietz, ACB.

Verein adversary, Frey, assured him that Kenkel was not unfriendly to Dietz and suggested that Dietz read in the Central Blatt what Kenkel had said of him.[186]

The SSC report for 1916 reflected Dietz's discouragement. He stated that the members of the SSC drew lots for the one, two and three-year appointments with the result that Heckenkamp and Hagerty were appointed for one year, Slattery and Denechaud for two, and Dietz, Bolger (Reverend William, C.S.C., of the University of Notre Dame who had taken Father Cavanaugh's place) and Muldoon for three. Dietz mentioned, too, the dispute over the Women's section, and that the SSC finally decided to ask for a special yearly meeting of the women. Hagerty had suggested a smaller conference on social service instead of a full-delegate meeting, and this led to a suggestion of the combined action of the AFCS, Verein and Charities Conference consisting of Kerby, Noll, Father Edward Gareshé, S.J., of the Queen's Work, Dietz and Frey. But, as seen above, this was changed to a committee of nine.[187]

Officers for the new year remained the same as the previous year with Whalen as President; Flynn, Coller, Frey, Hynes, McLaughlin and Ganz as Vice-Presidents; Matre, Schulte as Treasurer; and Kuhn as Marshal. The Advisory Board in 1916, according to the Bulletin for September, 1916, had increased to fifteen, and the

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[186] Frey to Dietz, September 14, 1916, op. cit.
[187] Minutes SSC; supra, p. 233.

Executive Board to thirteen. The big task facing the Federation was reorganization along the lines proposed by the delegates at New York, using the diocese as the unit of organization.

There can be little doubt that the Social Service Commission was the motivating force of the Federation from 1911 until 1916, and that the Commission was practically synonymous with Peter E. Dietz. If the Federation gained prestige during those years, much of the credit can be given to the activities of the Commission. Dietz tried to formulate a Catholic public opinion in his own and others' writings in the Bulletin and Newsletter and by distributing, through the Commission, creditable pamphlets. To all meetings he brought the best Catholic speakers of the day, both lay and clerical, and showed the world that there were informed Catholics available to treat any of the timely topics. His work with labor was a great impetus towards the ultimate expression of Catholic principles on trade-unionism, and his war against socialism was incessant.

Through Father Dietz the Federation made meaningful contacts with the American Federation of Labor, the National Civic Federation, Protestant organizations, and the outstanding labor leaders of the period. Fathers Ryan and Blakely said that the SSC and the AFCS spoke for the Church under the guidance of the proper ecclesiastical authorities, and The Survey did not stint in its praise of the work of the organizations. In only two great aspirations did Dietz fail: his aim to place his Academy of Christian Democracy under the Federation, and his efforts to coordinate all Catholic social action in cooperation with the Commission.

The general body of the Federation in the same period was not inactive under Matre's leadership. An attempt at a world federation had progressed steadily, as did the constant battle against indecency. Under Matre's guiding hand the Federation began the active censorship of motion pictures in a day when most people considered this type of entertainment harmless. Matre had managed, with Dietz's help, to spread the American Federation to all corners of the country and into the possessions, including as members many national organizations of great importance in American Catholic life.

Local Federations had cooperated with the National Federation in promoting public morality, fighting socialism, supporting the Catholic press, organizing a Young Men's Catholic Association and many other projects. As in the first decade of its existence, the Federation endorsed each new Catholic movement as it was formed, and the AFCS cooperated with the ideals of the Catholic Press Association and the National Catholic Educational Association in spreading Catholic literature and encouraging broader Catholic education.

The Federation had perhaps more personal contacts with President Wilson than it had had with either of his predecessors. And, as in the previous decade, the AFCS repeatedly asserted that its promotion of public opinion had blocked or stimulated Congressional legislation. Matre acknowledged the work of the Knights of Columbus in preparing its report on religious prejudices, even though the national Order had never affiliated with the Federation.

Only the various tensions within the Federation and between the AFCS and the Central Verein marred a rather impressive record for the period of 1911 to 1916. Matre and Dietz had misunderstood each other almost from the inception of the SSC. Money had been a chief source of friction between the men; the Federation had none, and the Commission needed a great deal to continue the work that Dietz had planned for it. A further source of trouble was the multiplicity of Dietz's activities which he sometimes imprudently forced upon the Federation, thereby annoying Matre. The priest was impatient and eager to get things under way, but Matre was willing to move at the more leisurely pace set by the hierarchy.[188]

The tensions between the Verein and the Federation during the years 1911 to 1916 centered around the old question of representation and solicitation by the Federation among the member societies of the Verein. To this was added the friction arising from Dietz's repeated efforts to coordinate Catholic social action. The Verein had been successful in its program of social action for some years before the SSC was formed. Dietz, in fact, had worked for one year with the Central Bureau. But after the Commission was formed, Dietz seemed to give to the leaders of the Central Verein the impression that all Catholic social action had to be conducted under the auspices of the Federation's Commission, a situation unacceptable to the Verein.

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[188] Interview. Matre's sons said that Dietz was ten years ahead of his time.

As the period drew to a close amidst the memories of a triumphant Convention in New York, both Dietz and Matre had to face the problem of reorganization along diocesan lines, a proposition both had supported. Dietz had displayed some discouragement in his report of 1916, but he had hopes that the SSC could rally once it managed its own finances. Upon the two secretaries fell the burden of organizing and publicizing the changes which were to be effected during the following year.

CHAPTER VI

ATTEMPTED REORGANIZATION

Of all the elements within the Federation that needed reorganization in 1916, probably the most imperative was finances. This had been a chronic disease with the AFCS from its earliest days, and shortly after the New York Convention Charles I. Denechaud, former President of the organization, wrote to Dietz that the Federation could carry "on the good work in an effective manner" only if "the whole system of...taxation and sources of revenue" were revised.[1] In the same letter Denechaud deplored the absence of an AFCS representative at the American Federation of Labor Convention in 1915 and 1916.

An unidentified layman summarized other Federation ills in an article in the Catholic Columbian for July 14, 1916:

> 1. The Hierarchy too long withheld their active approval and co-operation. True, almost every prelate...gave...a letter of approval...after much solicitation and in some cases in a more or less left-handed, half-hearted way. It often appeared...that there was a lack of confidence in the guidance of Federation's episcopal leadership....
> 2. There was, too, a lack of...whole-hearted, propelling enthusiasm...The clergy...never did take hold of Federation. They stood more or less critically aloof....

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[1] New Orleans, July 31, 1916, Dietz, ACB. Dietz had been too busy with his school to attend the AFL Convention in 1915 and was in Europe in 1916.

> 3. Federation...got off on the wrong foot. It was organized along civic lines....Why not organize as parish, diocesan and archdiocesan units? This would have eliminated all unjust suspicion of its tending towards the formation of a Catholic political party....
> 4. Another influence that worked powerfully against Federation has been the attitude, from the beginning, of the Knights of Columbus....The American Federation of Catholic Societies! Yes; and the greatest society in the American Church ignoring its existence!....The Knights of Columbus at first openly antagonized Federation....Even after the Papal Delegate...almost commanded the order to fall in line with Federation...how many councils belong to Federation?...
> 5. The wealthy...Catholics, are as a rule outside of all Catholic societies....The men are timid for "business reasons," and the women are too busy trying to "break into society."...
> 6. Thus far Federation was financed...by a "per capita" assessment...How small its real membership is!...Its revenues had been little or nothing.

The writer ended by saying that the Federation was a necessity, but he would advise either Father Wynne or Cardinal O'Connell to "drag it out of the slough."

Father Wynne agreed with the writer, but in his response on July 28, 1916 in the Columbian posed the question, "How can one reorganize what has never been properly organized?" He, too, thought Cardinal O'Connell's method of organization along diocesan lines was the one to follow for the future because "such an important interest of the Church in this country [required] the action of the Ordinary in each diocese." In this way, stated Wynne, there would be "a National Federation of Catholic Societies, not on paper, but in fact." O'Connell alone, said Wynne, had "effected a real Federation of the societies and other groups under his jurisdiction."[2]

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[2] Boston was the best organized Federation, but those in New Orleans, Ohio, St. Louis and Milwaukee were very active also. Interview.

As early as August 3, 1916, Dietz presented a plan of reorganization to Bishop Muldoon. He would have each community conduct a survey, study the results and then let the findings determine the year's program for each local Federation. Activities would come under seven departments: education and health, industrial relations, charities and social service, law and legislation, public morality, press and publicity, and organization.[3] Outlining his proposal in the Bulletin for March, 1917, Dietz stated, "Action requires direction. A good house cannot be built unless plans are made, and capable craftsmen secured." He offered his plan, and was more than willing to train the craftsmen at his school.

Dietz, at this time, found himself in a precarious position, with his office as Secretary of the Social Service Commission in jeopardy. Living at a distance from centralized Federation activities, Dietz, as editor of the Bulletin, was removed from the publisher of the monthly paper and also from Muldoon and Matre. The priest was convinced that his plan for reorganization was practical, but he confided to Muldoon on September 4, 1916, that he knew that "patronage must be invoked, rather than deliberation and judgment." He added that "sneakiness and under-hand methods are undermining Federation and all my difficulty in Federation...in some way originates with Mr. Matre." This was not the first time Dietz had submitted a survey method of determining the Federation's annual program;

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[3] MSS. at ACB; Dietz to Muldoon, n.p., August 3, 1916, Dietz, (copy), ACB; cf. Fox, "Dietz," pp. 226-228; Bulletin, March, 1917.

but he had been ignored on the previous occasion although, as he told Muldoon, when Kenkel submitted an identical plan, "all listened with awe."[4]

Matre openly berated Dietz for the latter's "unorthodox" methods, citing particularly the priest's handling of the women's meeting in New York without the knowledge of the Executive Board. Furthermore, Matre pointed out that Dietz had indicated in the Bulletin that the school at Hot Springs was under the Federation and questioned the priest's authority to make such an assertion. Finally, Matre commented on Dietz's criticism of Matre's paper on Mexico which the National Secretary had read at New York. Matre said he had "read the paper...before O'Connell, Messmer and Schrembs before reading it before the public."[5]

In spite of Matre's opposition to the women's federation, it was generally agreed by affiliates that the formation of the women's section was one of the great achievements of the SSC in 1916.[6] The great need for organized activity among the women's societies was all the more imperative because, as noted in The Republic for October 14, 1916, there had "been a waste in Catholic social work for lack of [such] co-ordination."[7]

Matre made another thrust at Dietz in the Executive Meeting held in October, 1916, where he tried to abolish the Bulletin and

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[4] n.p., Dietz, (copy), ACB.

[5] Matre to Dietz, Chicago, September 22, 1916, Dietz, ACB.

[6] TR, September 15, 1916; TCC-R, September 15, 1916; Bulletin, September, 1916.

[7] "In the Family Sitting Room," II.

"make a proposition with Sunday Visitor, (sic)" but the rest of the Board objected. Heckenkamp had taken a position on the Board only "to overcome opposition" to Dietz, but he found the priest to be in good standing. However, Heckenkamp was made responsible for finding out printing rates; but when he wrote to a large concern, he found that Matre had also written. Consequently, he complained to Dietz, "As I said so often, I look for very little progress in the Federation as long as we have our present Secretary."[8]

In the meantime McFaul was preparing a circular letter to be sent to all the hierarchy presenting five plans for reorganization and asking each Ordinary to consider the matter. Any plan adopted would put each local federation under the guidance of the bishop. At least one priest, Reverend J. T. Durward of Baraboo, Wisconsin, had doubts which he expressed to Dietz. "Passing Federation under the wing of the Bishops was probably a good move but I would have liked to have learned what precautions have been taken to prevent it (sic) being viewed as only another ecclesiastical agency and lose its respect as a Laymen's movement." Durward said it was "liable to be stillborn in Dioceses and parishes where the Bishop and pastors are not urgent for it." He added a familiar refrain, "It strikes me also that before a Convention Federation at large should be informed of the matters that would be discussed and given an opportunity to suggest to the Program Committee subjects that in their estimation ought to be brought" up.[9] Dietz had to agree that it was "a mistake to put Federation under the bishops" because local Federations reflected "the bishop every time."[10] Bishops who were neither for nor against the idea of federation were more harmful towards the movement than hostile bishops.[11]

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[8] Heckenkamp to Dietz, Quincy, October 30, 1916, Dietz, ACB; Muldoon's Diary, November 22, 1916, ACUA.

In November, 1917, Matre sent Gibbons, Bonzano, and O'Connell a form letter intended for later circulation among the hierarchy, outlining the five plans for reorganization prepared by McFaul as head of the Committee on Organization.[12] Gibbons replied through his secretary that he believed "it advisable to take no action until he [submitted] the matter to the Archbishops at their annual meeting."[13] After several attempts to reach the Apostolic Delegate, Matre received this reply, "I...give it my approval, and I feel confident that when the bishops of the country have once become acquainted with the project and have pledged their support, of it, (sic) it will in a short time become an accomplished fact, since the zealous approval of the Bishops given to any good work is the assurance of that work's success."[14]

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[9] October 20, 1916, Dietz, ACB.

[10] Dietz to Durward, Hot Springs, November 29, 1916, Dietz, (copy), ACB.

[11] Interview.

[12] Matre to Gibbons, to O'Connell, to Bonzano, St. Louis, November 28, 1916, Gibbons, AAB; O'Connell, AABo; Bonzano, AAD; Bulletin, February, 1917.

[13] Connelly to Matre, Baltimore, December 10, 1916, Gibbons, (copy), AAB.

[14] Matre to Bonzano, St. Louis, November 28, 1916; December 11, 1916; Bonzano to Matre, Washington, December 18, 1916, Bonzano, AAD; copy in AABo, photostatic copy, AUND; Bulletin, February, 1917; December, 1916.

The form letter was sent to the hierarchy on January 15, 1917, including the five plans of reorganization. Matre told the bishops that the National Committee on Organization "had been instructed to take up this matter with the bishops of the country, to the end that every diocese may be represented by delegates at the Federation Convention of 1917 in Kansas City, Mo." Although some areas were already organized along diocesan lines, Matre indicated that in "only a few [was] there thorough organization." He promised, "Our National Advisory Board of Archbishops and Bishops will prevent mistakes by the laity in important actions affecting the interests of the Church or morality. The Bishop will direct the Federation in His Diocese, in the consideration of moral or social questions affecting his locality or any move in defense of the Church."

The five plans proposed were:

A FEDERATION OF SOCIETIES

1st Plan--

> That the Bishop request every Catholic society in his Diocese, religious, fraternal or benevolent, to join the Diocesan Federation. If there be two or more counties in a Diocese, on account of distance, each county may be organized, but delegates from societies to a County Federation shall become automatically delegates to the Diocesan Federation, which shall hold a meeting once a year or every six months, or oftener, if occasion demands. Meetings of County Federations subordinate to Diocesan Federations might be arranged to meet local conditions.
>
> The basis of representation in the Diocesan Federation may be from one to five delegates from each society, according to the best judgment of the Bishop or his advisors.

A FEDERATION OF PARISHES

2nd Plan--

The Bishop to request every parish in his Diocese to join the Diocesan Federation. If there be two or more counties or deaneries in a Diocese, each county or deanery, on account of distance, may be separately organized; but delegates from a county or deanery shall become automatically delegates to the Diocesan Federation unless otherwise provided for.

A FEDERATION OF PARISHES AND SOCIETIES

3rd Plan--

If the Bishop so chooses he may have his Federation composed of both Societies and Parishes, on the plans outlined in Nos. 1 and 2.

A DIOCESAN FEDERATION COMMISSION

4th Plan--

If the Bishop does not find it expedient to federate his societies and parishes, he could form a Federation Diocesan Commission, composed of clergymen and laymen (as many as he wants to choose) authorized to represent the Diocese in all Federation matters. This commission will constitute the Diocesan Federation.

A FEDERATION COMPOSED OF CENTRAL BODIES

5th Plan--

In some localities it might be more convenient to form a Diocesan Federation composed of the Central Bodies of Fraternal Societies, Sodalities, Holy Name Societies, etc.

Note--If the Bishop of a State so desire it, a State Federation or State Committee may be formed. The National Federation, however, only recognizes the Diocese as its units.

Diocesan Federations may arrange for themselves the necessary dues needed to maintain their local organization.

Dues would be assessed at the rate of one dollar per one thousand in dioceses where the Catholic population did not exceed three hundred thousand; but where populations did exceed that number, dues would be paid at the same rate for the first three hundred thousand, and fifty cents per one thousand above that number.[15] This placed upon the local Ordinary the obligation to find the ways and means of collecting the funds necessary to run the local Federation and to contribute to the support of the National AFCS.

Under the new plan the *Bulletin* would continue to be the official organ under the editorship of Dietz. All revenues from the *Bulletin*, Associate Membership, and special Social Service Memberships of five dollars a year would go towards the support of the Social Service Commission.[16] To some extent the SSC was receiving a greater autonomy than it had enjoyed under previous *Constitutions*, but it did not become a separate entity.

Cardinal O'Connell had some anxiety that the adoption of the new diocesan plan submitted by the National Organization might impair his successful Boston Federation. Monsignor Michael Splaine, the Diocesan Chaplain, assured His Eminence that it would "make other dioceses of the country do their share from a financial point of view;" and, furthermore, under "the new arrangements, the diocese of Boston [would] be given a voting strength of one hundred votes at every convention, independent of the size of" the delegation, giving Boston "a position to be one of the greatest influences at a Convention." Splaine pointed out that even if only ten delegates attended a Convention, the "voting strength would be one hundred votes on account of the number of parishes and Societies in Boston affiliated with Federation."[17]

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[15] Matre to O'Connell, Chicago, O'Connell, AABo; copy at AAD; cf. Fox, "Dietz," pp. 228ff.

[16] *Constitution*, mss. in AABo; photostatic copy in AUND. *Constitution and By-Laws The Catholic Federation of the United States*. Authorized Revision, Kansas City, Mo., 1917. (Quincy, n.d.).

Suddenly a voice was raised in favor of the formation of a Catholic lay Union, and arguments for and against the idea filled pages of the Ecclesiastical Review during 1917. Pointing out that Protestantism was "largely a lay organization in its executive control," Reverend Ambrose Gallagher, O.S.B., stated that "unless clerical leadership [was] alert and progressive, Catholic lay social interest [was] likely to atrophy," for the generosity stimulated by "personal participation in any concrete activity" was lacking. Both the AFCS and the Knights of Columbus had limitations, neither representing "the entire Catholic lay body in America." Putting forth reasons for a Lay Union, the author said, "We have no channel through which this voice [against prejudice] may herald its message of censure or approval. The nearest approach is the Federation; but the Federation is not homogeneous, and once beyond the limits of its national convention, the hampering barrier of an endless circulum in circulo vitiates concerted action."

Furthermore, the author noted, the Federation lacked "executive power for binding legislation" and did not "comprise the entire American lay body." The "Federation, in other words,

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[17] Splaine to Haberlin, Roxbury, Massachusetts, January 19, 1917, Haberlin, AABo.

[lacked] the cohesiveness and suppleness a Lay Union" would possess. The influence of Federation, according to Gallagher, would be "found in the union of priests and people acting under the guidance and direction of the united Hierarchy in the country."[18] To this, one who signed himself "Sperans" gave a wise reply, "If the lay action is to be solely and exclusively lay action, it will never be inaugurated, and that for the reason...the episcopate and the priesthood have grave doubts of activity that is under the sole domination of the laity, and this for reasons that are obvious to any priest." "Sperans" approved of Father Gallagher's plan of organization through the diocese because Catholics were "reared from their earliest years to obedience,...taught to recognize authority, to move when authority speaks." Thus, he added, in matters "nearly allied to and intimately bound up with their religious concerns," they would "listen attentively and move immediately when that same authority" imposed on them an obligation which made for the welfare of the whole Catholic body.[19]

Matre wrote a letter to the editor of the Ecclesiastical Review defending the Federation in the light of the other two writers' remarks: "If Federation received only one-half of the encouragement and diocesan affiliation that Father Gallagher's proposal [required], then there would be great strides in the work of Federation." What Gallagher asked for, the officers of the

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[18] "Is A Catholic Lay Union Expedient and Feasible?" AER, LVI (January, 1917), 1-9. Father Gallagher was stationed in Benedictine College, Savannah, Georgia.

[19] AER, LVI (February, 1917), 195-198.

Federation had "been pleading for since the inception of Federation, fifteen years ago." Bishop McFaul had made a study in 1914 to see why "the work of Federation had not been taken up actively in every diocese, and it was learned that the original plan of organization on county lines had not been found expedient in several parts of the country." Hence, the plan to reorganize on diocesan levels had "met with unanimous approval in the New York Convention." The National Secretary concluded by inviting Father Gallagher to enlist in the broad cause of Federation so that there would be no inauguration of new societies when the "old [were] capable of doing the work, if properly supported."[20] Actually, what Father Gallagher proposed was very similar to an amalgamation of the five diocesan plans submitted to the bishops by the Federation.[21]

During this period of readjustment, the work of the Federation continued as usual. For the Social Service Commission the unification of Catholic social service forces remained the major project, and Bishop Muldoon agreed to meet in Chicago on January 21, 1917, with Fathers Siedenburg and Kerby and Mr. Kenkel to discuss "the proposition somewhat."[22] Dietz did not attend the meeting because he was arranging to move his school from Hot Springs to Cincinnati where Archbishop Moeller had offered him an abandoned hospital for his use.[23]

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[20] AER, LVI (March, 1917), 271-279.

[21] Interview. The new proposals resembled the later National Councils of Catholic Men and Catholic Women.

[22] Muldoon to Kenkel, Rockford, January 12, 1917, Kenkel, AUND.

Despite Kenkel's implication that Muldoon was opposed to Dietz's continued attempts at "amalgamation," the Bishop was quite cognizant of the need for united efforts in charitable and social work. The Chicago meeting decided to send a "Questionaire (sic)...to all the members appointed at the last Federation meeting."[24] In reporting to Dietz of the discussions at the Chicago meeting, Muldoon warned the priest to prepare a report of the Social Service Commission's activities for the previous six months, giving "facts, not general statements," and above all to account for the number of Newsletters used.[25]

While the Social Service Commission was busy with its future plans, Matre carried on the work of the mother organization. When conditions in Mexico reached a point where the Mexican hierarchy was unsafe, Matre wired Secretary of State Lansing on January 22, 1917, in the name of the Federation. He pointed out that the lives of Archbishop Jimenez and Bishop Mora were "threatened...by the Carranza Government" and asked that the Secretary use his good offices in their behalf.[26] At the same time Matre continued a relentless war against obscene and objectionable movies, publishing lists of such in the Bulletin.[27] He had been doing this for two years to the point that anti-Catholic opposition was aroused.[28]

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[23] Dietz to Moeller, Hot Springs, January 12, 1917, Moeller, AAC; Dietz, (copy), ACB.

[24] Muldoon's Diary, January 21, 1917.

[25] Rockford, February 17, 1917, Dietz, ACB. If Dietz had each year prepared the SSC reports that are in ACB, Muldoon would have had "facts, not general statements."

[26] Chicago, January 22, 1917, NA. Also protests from Walter G. Smith, Philadelphia, January 20, 1917, and Frey for CV, January 23, 1917. All were acknowledged by Lansing stating that the "Department's representatives were telegraphically instructed... to use every possible good office in the interest of the churchmen mentioned."

Both the Social Service Commission and the Executive Board of the Federation met in Chicago in February, 1917, to discuss the annual Convention to be held in August in Kansas City, Missouri. In his Diary Bishop Muldoon recorded optimistic observations about this meeting, mentioning that the SSC had selected "The Home" for its general discussion and that the prospects for a general meeting of the AFCS were "fine & encouraging."[29] With unabashed frankness, Father Engelen wrote to Kenkel that his "repeated criticisms" of the Federation might in some way be responsible for the new enthusiasm displayed by the organization.[30]

While the Federation was busy with reorganization and the Convention, the Archbishops met in Washington on April 18, 1917, two weeks after America entered the war. For the first time since the Federation had been inaugurated the Prelates discussed the organization at some length. After drafting a letter to President Wilson giving the whole-hearted support of the entire

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[27] December, 1916, and passim.

[28] Leo Lehmann, "The Catholic Church in Politics," reprinted by the Sterilization League of New Jersey (Princeton, 1938), p. 11, from The New Republic, XCVII (November 30, 1938), 94-96.

[29] February 26, 27, 1917, ACUA.

[30] Toledo, February 21, 1917, Kenkel, AUND.

Catholic body to the war effort,[31] the hierarchy recommended draft exemption for duly ordained ministers of religion and students preparing for the ministry "in recognized theological or divinity schools."

Then after "some discussion the question of formal approval by the Archbishops of the 'Federation of Catholic Societies' was put and declared carried." The Archbishops reached "no conclusion regarding the methods suggested for the development of the Federation...; but instead, a committee was formed, whose duty would be to control and direct the federation." This committee, appointed by the Chairman, would "consist of His Eminence the Cardinal Archbishop of Boston, the Archbishops of Milwaukee, San Francisco and Chicago, the Bishops of Trenton, Mobile and Pittsburg."[32]

The Archbishops also dealt with the Mexican situation; "and a committee consisting of His Eminence of Baltimore, and the Archbishop of Cincinnati, to which was added Mr. Walter George Smith, was created, their duty being to express sympathy with the Mexican Hierarchy, and to make protest against the unreasonableness and injustice of the proposed constitution."[33]

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[31] "The Promise Fulfilled," National Catholic War Council Bulletin, I (February, 1920), 13-14; Bulletin, May, 1917; MS. in AAB, AABo, photostatic copy, AUND; Archbishops' letter in Raphael M. Huber, O.F.M.Conv., comp. Our Bishops Speak 1919-1951 (Milwaukee, 1952), pp. 173-174.

[32] Minutes, MSS, AAB, AABo, photostatic copy, AUND. The prelates mentioned were William Cardinal O'Connell of Boston, Sebastian Messmer of Milwaukee, Edward Hanna of San Francisco, George Mundelein of Chicago, James McFaul of Trenton, Edward Allen of Mobile, and Regis Canevin of Pittsburgh.

[33] Minutes, op. cit. The Archbishop of Cincinnati was Henry Moeller. Bulletin, June, 1917.

Walter George Smith had already made a protest to the Carranza government on January 20, 1917, in the name of the Philadelphia Federation and was conversant on the situation.[34]

Two final statements brought the Federation even closer to the Hierarchy:

> The following subjects which were proposed for discussion were referred to the Committee appointed for the Federation of Catholic Societies:-
>
> (1) That the Catholic laity should take a more public and active part in the discussion of the various moral, industrial and economic questions which are before the public.
> (2) Secularization of charities.--The care of dependent and delinquent children.
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> . . . .
>
> It was also moved and seconded that no priest henceforth may serve as a chaplain to a Catholic Society unless he is confirmed by his Ordinary.[35]

After this decision of the Archbishops was made, Matre, still National Secretary of AFCS, found himself in an awkward position. Since not all bishops had endorsed the new "Diocesan" or "Boston" plan, he asked O'Connell, as head of the Archbishops' Committee on Federation, if it would not be "advisable to invite all branch federations and organizations...affiliated with the National Federation, to assemble at Kansas City under the old arrangement and to there and then acquaint them with such new arrangements" as would be advanced and endorsed by the Cardinal's Committee. The perplexed Secretary said, "If my office is to

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[34] Supra, p.

[35] Minutes, op. cit.

[issue invitations to all the Bishops of the country to send delegates to the Convention], would it not be well to inform the Bishops...of the action of the Archbishops at [the] recent meeting in Washington and perhaps add [His] Eminence's name to" the invitation to the hierarchy?[36] The Cardinal approved of having the Kansas City Convention conducted under the old plan.[37]

Meanwhile the mobilization of armed forces began in the United States, and it became evident that immediate action on the part of Catholics was needed to give aid to their co-religionists in the armed forces, both in camps and on the fronts. The Knights of Columbus had had some experience in this sort of social work during the period of "watchful waiting" on the Mexican border and were the first to move again when the greater conflict reached this country.[38] In a circular letter, the KC spoke of their work of the previous year and stated that from all over the country were calls "that this work, attempted for the first time,...be continued and enlarged to meet" existing conditions. Such work would include securing priests as both chaplains and helpers, collecting funds, and erecting recreational centers.[39] Almost immediately the Chaplain's Aid Society was formed by Reverend John J. Burke, C.S.P., to whom Cardinal Gibbons gave permission to expand his work.[40]

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[36] Matre to O'Connell, Chicago, May 8, 1917, O'Connell, AABo; photostatic copy, AUND.

[37] Haberlin to Matre, Boston, May 11, 1917, O'Connell, (copy), AABo.

[38] Michael Williams, *American Catholics in the War* (New York, 1921), Chapter VI. Hereafter cited as Williams, *Catholics in the War*.

[39] *Ibid.*, pp. 98-99; copy in AABo. Alphonse Lugan, *Le Catholicisme aux Etats-Unis* (Paris, 1930), p. 28, agrees with Reverend Vincent Holden, C.S.P., who, in a letter to the author, November 14, 1960, stated that Father Burke was the first to act. Williams takes the view that Burke and the KC worked amicably but independently at first, the KC being the first to move.

The Federation, planning a new Convention, was not working along the same lines. In fact, according to Dietz, "There are many who doubt that Federation will endure. In the eyes of many Federation has justified its existence. Federation is an experiment. It has accomplished something in the way of meeting a number of exigences as they arose." The real problem seemed to be that the Federation lacked "a complete working program, scientific method and academic leadership."[41] Heckenkamp added as another weakness "the indifference and lethargy of [the] clergy.[42]

Dietz wrote to Bishop Muldoon that the Federation "is frittering away the great opportunity [italics his] of its career. Its patriotism is like the patriotism of the secular press...depriving the country of the well balanced moderate movement standing between the Democratic-Republican party, and the Socialist party, by refusing to stand for Christian Democracy."[43] However, the Federation was using its Bulletin to publicize the actions of Catholics in the war effort. In its May,

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[40] Williams, op. cit., pp. 106-108; Will, Gibbons, II, 813-817.

[41] Dietz to Moeller, Cincinnati, June 24, 1917, Moeller, AAC; copy, ACB.

[42] Heckenkamp to Dietz, Quincy, June 25, 1917, Dietz, ACB. John T. Ellis, American Catholicism (Chicago, 1956), p. 138, makes the assertion that "the A.F. of C.S. had never enlisted the broad support of the clergy in general," but this contradicts what Minahan said in his call of 1902.

[43] n.p., June 8, 1917, Dietz, (copy), ACB.

1917, issue, Matre listed the numbers of Catholic hospitals turning over their resources to the government, Loyola University's first aid courses held to expand the work of the Red Cross and the Catholic chaplains already enlisted in the armed services.

The same Bulletin indicated that the usual work of the Federation had not ceased despite Dietz's criticism. It condemned birth control as worse than war, and this began a series of articles designed to educate the readers of the Bulletin on the immorality of the practice. An account of Reverend Edwin V. O'Hara's successful case before the Supreme Court of the United States informed the readers that O'Hara's minimum wage law had been in litigation since 1913. O'Hara had spoken to the New York Convention and had contributed articles to the Bulletin. Another item in the Bulletin publicized the meeting of the Young Men's Institute, Catholic Young Men's National Union, Gonzaga Union of the Central Verein and Young Men's Sodalities held at Loyola University, Chicago, in an effort to establish service centers in the larger cities to take care of the social needs of the youth.

On July 2, 1917, Cardinal O'Connell, Chairman of the Committee on Federation appointed by the Archbishop in April, 1917, sent a letter to the other members of his Committee. He wrote, "As it was the consensus of opinion at the last meeting of the Archbishops that in some definite way the public action of Federation should be under the control of the Hierarchy and that Federation should be responsible to the Hierarchy as a body," several suggestions were offered for the consideration of all the Bishops and Archbishops:

> 1. No action of any notable importance [should] be taken by Federation and no new departure made from its general methods without the knowledge and consent of the governing Prelates.
>
> 2. The resolutions to be passed at the Annual Public Meeting of Federation purporting to represent the public Catholic sentiment of this country [should] be first approved by the Prelates of the Commission. [For easy access to these Prelates the country was divided into four zones, each under a member of the hierarchy].
>
> 3. Whenever the Prelate to whom these matters were referred felt them to be of national importance, there were to be referred to the National Commission for their opinion and sanction; but in ordinary matters, the local Ordinary could give direction.[44]

O'Connell also sent a copy of these directions to Matre with the suggestion that "a uniform series of topics be selected at the Annual Convention for discussion during the ensuing year by the various local branches of Federation, so that the whole thought and work of Federation throughout the country [might be] along the same lines." The advantage of such united effort would be to "focus upon some topic of general interest and importance the best Catholic thought of the whole country;" and "such a consideration of serious thought and debate" would not only give "academic and theoretical knowledge of the subject under consideration," but it would also "disclose the best practical methods of solving the problem entailed." Two topics listed were "The Working Man," with the recommendation that the lecturers should treat this subject with the idea in mind of suggesting practical means of bettering the laboring man's condition in life; and "Practical Means of Combating Moral Decadence" as worthy of serious thought and discussion particularly by the Catholic women of the country.[45]

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[44] Incorporated in a report of the Committee, mss. at AABo; photostatic copy in AUND.

After the meeting of the Executive Board in Kansas City, Matre wrote to O'Connell, "The Executive Board of the Catholic Federation directs me to inform Your Eminence that the instructions given by Your Eminence's Committee have been carefully considered and unanimously endorsed. It will be the aim of the Federation to carry out these instructions to the best of its ability."[46] Matre had already placed his office under O'Connell's guidance.[47]

Foreseeable difficulties were noted by some bishops upon receipt of the Commission's report. Bishop Regis Canevin of Pittsburgh felt that to "be truly useful, [the] directorate should determine when and how Federation should take public action on questions of national importance." Agreeing with O'Connell about uniform topics for "reading, addresses, and lectures in all branches of the organization during the year," Canevin thought that "in this way Federation would be thinking and acting with one mind and would become a school for the instruction and unity of the laity under the guidance of the hierarchy."[48]

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[45] _Ibid._, special letter to Matre, July 2, 1917, O'Connell, (copy), _AABo_.

[46] Report of the Committee, _op. cit._

[47] Matre to O'Connell, Chicago, July 8, 1917, O'Connell, AABo. McFaul had died on June 16, 1917, placing the burden of the AFCS office and the problem of reorganization upon Matre, _Bulletin_, July; August-September-October, 1917.

Archbishop George Mundelein of Chicago predicted a possible disagreement on policy within the hierarchy itself and wrote, "I would add in order to avoid any misunderstanding that when one or two of the Bishops have given their approval of certain resolutions, that approval shall be binding as outlined by you,...but that later these resolutions together with a copy of the Prelate's approval be sent to the other members of the Commission."[49]

Aware of these objections, Matre sent a circular letter to every member of the hierarchy pleading, "We must (italics his) have the help of every Bishop of the United States in order to make Federation more effective. The Lay Apostolate should be the strong arm of the church in America and the Supreme Channel of Catholic Lay Opinion guided, of course, by episcopal authority."[50] Obviously, Matre was placing upon the shoulders of the hierarchy the future success or failure of the AFCS.

As Chairman of the Resolutions Committee for the Convention, Schrembs asked Muldoon as Chairman of the "Social-Economic" section for resolutions because the latter was "best in a position to take care of this subject. Possibly the suggestions contained in the letter of His Emminence (sic), Cardianl (sic) O'Connell, on using the soft pedal on Socialism proper and laying more stress on the more personal question of the workman" would furnish "the cue of the fundamental tone of the resolution." Schrembs agreed with Muldoon that serious thought had to be given to the salvation of the Federation, and he would have liked to exchange personal views "towards the very desirable accomplishment of [a constructive] program."[51] Although Schrembs had implied that he wanted Muldoon to draft the resolutions, the request was forwarded, as usual, to Dietz with the expressed hope that "something more active" be "got to."[52]

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[48] Canevin to O'Connell, Pittsburgh, July 9, 1917, O'Connell, AABo.

[49] Mundelein to O'Connell, Chicago, July 11, 1917, O'Connell, AABo; photostatic copy, AUND.

[50] Matre to Moeller, to O'Connell, July 10, 1917, Moeller, AAC; O'Connell, AABo.

Many were hopeful for the revivification of the Federation under the new plan. Monsignor Splaine wrote to Monsignor Haberlin that a creditable delegation planned to go to Kansas City from Boston. Although it would hardly be so great a number as had gone to conventions in former years because of the distance, it would be "a very representative group."[53] James K. Davis of Montgomery County, Ohio, Federation, was honored at being selected as the representative of the Archdiocese of Cincinnati.[54] In praising Archbishop Moeller for his interest in Social Service as shown by his endorsement of Dietz's work, Davis gave credit to the Ohio Federation for its progressive spirit, writing, "The

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[51] Schrembs to Muldoon, Toledo, August 3, 1917, Dietz, ACB.
[52] Ibid., sent by Muldoon to Dietz with notation on back.
[53] Roxbury, July 11, 1917, Haberlin, AABo.
[54] Davis to Moeller, Dayton, August 7, 1917, Moeller, AAC.

Catho~~lic Federation~~ Sociability Movement [was] the first organized effort upon the part of the Catholic laymen to prevent mixed-marriages by promoting acquaintanceship and sociability among all the Catholic people and especially the young folk."[55]

An indication of new confidence in the reorganized Federation was the petition of the Holy Name Society to join as a national organization. Before 1917 it had been the mind of the hierarchy to allow the Holy Name Society to affiliate with the AFCS but only on the local level. The "fundamental principle that all Holy Name activities must emphasize the parish as a working unit" had kept the national body from joining; "[h]owever," wrote Ignatius Smith, O.P., National Director of the HNS, "this reason for keeping the Society out of the Federation no longer obtains. The Federation is to be reorganized completely, with the parish as the working unit." And he asked O'Connell's permission to take up the question of affiliating the Holy Name Society with the Federation at the Convention in Kansas City.[56] Monsignor Richard Haberlin replied for the Cardinal that the matter had been brought to the attention of John Whalen, Federation President, and that His Eminence "assured Mr. Whalen that the affiliation" met with his approval.[57]

It is a little difficult to understand the Cardinal's position just at this time. Apparently he had great faith that the Boston Plan, once adopted by the National Federation, would be the panacea for the national organization's troubles. Just before the Kansas City Convention he wrote to Bishop Thomas Lillis of that city:

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[55] Ibid., August 16, 1917.

[56] Smith to O'Connell, New York, August 19, 1917, O'Connell, AABo.

[57] Haberlin to Smith, Boston, August 23, 1917, O'Connell, (copy), AABo; cc. to Whalen.

> The influence exerted throughout the Country by Federation is more and more beginning to be properly understood and appreciated. Little by little its influence for good is being more widely felt and with God's help and our own indomitable energy and perseverance the day is not far distant when by its voice and stand Federation will be a truly mighty force in the nation for religion, for righteousness and for true christian (sic) patriotism.[58]

Although the Convention in Kansas City from August 26 to 28, 1917, was well attended, it lacked the excitement of the New York meeting of the previous year. Archbishop John Bonzano pontificated at the opening Mass in the Cathedral of the Immaculate Conception. Archbishops Glennon, Messmer, Moeller, Hanna and J. J. Harty of Omaha and seventeen bishops were in the sanctuary, and all heard a "solid sermon by Archb. Hanna."[59]

In the evening about 15,000 attended the public mass meeting in the Kansas City Convention Hall where Bishop Thomas Lillis welcomed the delegates. Archbishop Bonzano summarized and clarified Pope Benedict XV's peace plan for peace without victory.

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[58] O'Connell to Lillis, Boston, August 22, 1917, O'Connell, (copy), AABo. Cf. William Cardinal O'Connell, Recollection of Seventy Years (Boston, 1934), pp. 293-294; Michael Slattery, "Fraternal Societies of the Laity," in Constantine E. McGuire, ed. Catholic Builders of the Nation, 5 vols. (Boston, 1923), II, 320-321; Henry J. Browne, "American Catholic History: A Progress Report on Research and Study," Church History, XXVI (December, 1957) 373.

[59] Muldoon's Diary, August 26, 1917, ACUA; Bulletin, August-September-October, 1917.

Then the delegates proceeded with the customary business meeting.

Matre reported that the Federation had continued with varying success its morality crusade. It had supported a Federal Censorship Bill which had been defeated as a result of vigorous opposition on the part of movie producers and theatrical interests. Matre suggested that under the new plan of Federation organization, each parish should form a morality committee. He mentioned that the Federation was helping the work of the Red Cross and that the AFCS had been successful in having Protestant Bibles replaced by Catholic prayer books in the Red Cross "comfort kits" for service men. According to Matre, Schrembs was Chairman of a Committee for the Federation's Young Men's Catholic Association which was progressing. Furthermore, the National Secretary announced the affiliation of the national Holy Name Society with the Federation.[60]

President Whalen reported that the Federation had sent three delegates to the recent meeting of the National Catholic War Commission (sic) which had been formed in Washington on August 11. Since Monsignor Splaine had been one of these delegates, Whalen asked him to make the report. Splaine, Chairman of the Committee on War Service of the Federation, spoke about the Washington meeting:

> The National Catholic War Commission was formed at Washington, August 11, at the invitation of Cardinals Gibbons, Farley and O'Connell, and on the issuance of an invitation from them nearly every

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[60] Ibid., cf. Matre to O'Connell, Chicago, July 6, 1916, O'Connell, AABo.

> bishop in the country sent a representative. That Commission was formed with one specific intention and when the cause that called that Commission into being is over, the Commission will automatically cease to exist.

Splaine continued by saying that at least 400,000 of the armed forces would be Catholics and that of the 400 chaplains already in service, 150 were Catholic and the rest divided among the other denominations.

Monsignor Splaine followed with a summary of the proposed work of the NCWC. It would aid the government in its work of supplying recreational centers and would raise "an enormous sum of money to support the project." The Knights of Columbus had already been recognized by the government for their work in recreational centers, and the Knights were represented on the Catholic War Commission. Other work of the Commission would include taking care of needy ones, supplementing family incomes, adjustment of convalescents when they returned home, etc. There was a need to coordinate and unify the work to avoid overlapping among the agencies.

He continued:

> There will be no dissipation of energy or efforts in this matter...In fact the creation of this National Commission was effected by the hierarchy of the country to be the one official authority or Catholic Commission during this time of war that would act as a big clearing house, as a big committee that would be immediately and directly under all the hierarchy of the country so that in that line could be entered and preserved for all time the wonderful work of the Catholic men and Catholic women of the country at this time to show what we did at this present time to bring about a triumph of the cause for which we have put out hands, and the future historian will

> not need to look around to find out what the Catholics did at this time, because with this National Catholic War Commission in existence during the time of the war it will co-ordinate, preserve, direct, guide and stand as the voice of the hierarchy guiding and directing all Catholic movements in this matter, and at the same time the Commission to which the Government will undoubtedly look and with which it will act in harmony and co-operation for all those matters concerning Catholics at the present time.

Finally, Splaine concluded:

> at that meeting in Washington nearly every one there was a member of Federation, and there is no antagonism of (sic) Federation, no usurping of the rights of Federation. [The Commission] sent the Committee [of three from Federation] here to report and to ask the aid of Federation to make this work widely known and to get all the encouragement and endorsement possible.[61]

The Convention then turned its attention to a report of the five plans submitted to the dioceses for consideration. Before his death in June, 1917, McFaul had been Chairman of the Committee on Organization assisted by Edward Feeney, former President, Heckenkamp, and Reverend Joseph Brock of Corry, Pennsylvania. The Committee reported the results of the circular sent to the dioceses for approval:

Dioceses favoring plan and fees	18
Dioceses favoring plan	20
Dioceses with Federations (not heard from Bishop to date)	13
Dioceses having no federation, but where Bishops favor same	10
Dioceses not ready for Federation	8
Dioceses not heard from	31[62]

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[61] Bulletin, August-September-October, 1917. Whalen was a second delegate to Washington, but the third was not mentioned in the report. He was probably M.J.Slattery of Philadelphia, cf. Williams, Catholics in the War, p.134. The coverage of the Kansas City Convention in the Bulletin was very poorly done. Cf. Fox, "Dietz," pp. 233ff.

[62] Bulletin, August-September-October, 1917.

After considerable discussion and some needed clarification, the delegates adopted the plan of diocesan Federations unanimously.

Among the resolutions were those of loyalty to and prayers for the Holy Father and the President, world peace according to the Pope's peace plan, soldiers' welfare, rights of children in divorce cases, establishment of the Holy Name Society in the army and navy, restoration of religious property in Mexico, congratulations to Catholic educational institutions especially those whose young men were offering themselves to the service of their country, and the santification of Sunday.[63]

Muldoon reported to his Diary that the Social Service Conference was "the best.../it had/ ever had," and the "speeches were excellent."[64] Reverend John Webster Melody of Chicago spoke on birth control, Quin O'Brien on divorce and Father Michael Stritch of St. Louis University on the economic menace to the family. In his report Father Dietz said there were no monies in the SSC treasury, but the Commission had sent out during the past year 10,000 Newsletters with only one adverse criticism, and that from outside the fold. The Commission had exchanged 4,000 letters, and Dietz's school had graduated nineteen students trained in a twelve-weeks' course in social service. Dietz stated that the war had created abnormal conditions and that social work and the works of charity were being submerged as calls for the war effort increased. At his own expense Dietz had attended the

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[63] Ibid.

[64] August 28, 1917, ACUA.

National Conference of Social Work in Pittsburgh and had given eleven lectures to select groups. His survey was being conducted in Covington Diocese with the approval of Bishop Ferdinand Broissart.[65]

The Federation elected practically a new slate of officers. Thomas Flynn of Chicago became President; J. J. Hayes of Buffalo /this must be Hynes of former years/, George Reinhardt of Kansas City, E. J. Cooney of Louisville, Coller, Frey and McLaughlin as Vice-Presidents; Matre; Schulte as Treasurer; Frank Reising as Marshal; and Chief Shooting Hawk as Color Bearer. Thomas Cannon of Chicago was elected Chairman of the Executive Board which included Archbishop Messmer, Bishop Lillis, Gonner, Feeney, Duffy, Cunningham, Denechaud, Heckenkamp, Whalen, F. W. Mansfield of Boston, Richard Ennis of Pittsburgh, and John Paul Chew of St. Louis.[66]

Before the Convention closed ex-President Whalen read a letter to him from Reverend John Burke, C.S.P., who could not be present. Father Burke congratulated Whalen upon the work he had done in Washington at the organizational meeting of the NCWC, especially as a member of the Committee on Resolutions. Then he asked aid for the soldiers in the camps, in recreational centers, in supplying rosaries, cleaning up towns near the camps, and finally requested Whalen to enlist the aid of the women's societies towards the care and instruction of Catholic girls that they might be safeguarded from temptation. Burke asked, too, that local organizations cooperate with the Travellers' Aid Societies and in caring for Catholic young men who might be passing through a town and need lodging. Burke concluded his letter by stating:

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[65] Bulletin, August-September-October, 1917; Minutes SSC. These were the last Minutes recorded by Dietz. The earlier Minutes had been recorded in a book in ink; these are in pencil on loose sheets. Cf. Fox, "Dietz," pp. 296-297.

[66] Bulletin, August-September-October, 1917.

> Any society that thinks it is going to solve the problem alone is not really Catholic; it puts its own ambition and its own importance above that of the Church. The way to unity has been outlined by the unanimous resolutions of the most representative Catholic body that has met since the present crisis arose. It has placed us all for guidance and direction in the hands of our bishops, and that is certainly where our entire Catholic service and obedience ought to be.[67]

Nicholas Gonner spoke to the delegates about the position of German-Americans amidst the bigotry prevalent around them:

> In the face of all the calumny and lies which have been heaped upon us, we bear it because we trust in God and the justice of our faith which will stand by us. We have no apology to make. Our patriotism and love of our country has been testified to by our fathers in the crisis through which our country has gone. If we do not at this time go about with boastful mouthings protesting our loyalty, nobody can blame us for that. We are willing and ready to do our duty though our hearts might break.... Where duty calls, with our faith calls (sic), we are there, but nobody, no sensible man or woman can expect us to become enthusiastic about the calumny heaped upon us....

The Central Verein, he stated, had stood by the Federation since its earliest days, and if the new plan succeeded, it would produce "a Federation in fact as well as in name, but in fact not only ready to agitate but to strike if the occasion requires."[68] At its most recent Convention in St. Louis the Central Verein had pledged itself ready to help in camps, with the chaplains and with the national War Board.

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[67] Ibid.

As a final gesture the Federation Convention resolved:

> That we heartly recommend the work for the spiritual and social welfare of our soldiers undertaken with the recognition of the Government of the United States by the Knights of Columbus; that in the furtherance of efforts on behalf of Catholic men in service we likewise cordially endorse and pledge our assistance in carrying out the program of the National Catholic War Council and direct the President of Federation to appoint a special committee from this Federation to co-operate with the National Catholic War Council and the Knights of Columbus.

The special committee was comprised of Monsignor Splaine, Monsignor J. O'Connell of Toledo, Hynes, Denechaud and Whalen.[69]

Although the Kansas City Convention was exactly like its fifteen predecessors, Bishop Muldoon confided to his Diary on August 28, after the last meeting, "Our plans for the future are greatly hampered by the want of funds." However, Monsignor Splaine telegraphed Cardinal O'Connell on the same day, "Boston Plan adopted after many complimentary addresses...cardinal hailed as cardinal protector of Federation."[70]

Monsignor Splaine's last telegram to the Cardinal forecast shadows of coming events: "Convention finished great success will attend meeting Sunday National Catholic War Council."[71] This linked the old and the new at a time when few realized that the death-knell of the Federation was sounding as the approach of the NCWC was heralded. After the report of the Kansas City Convention in Muldoon's Diary, the distinction between the AFCS and the NCWC became so faint that the reader loses the thread of the former while picking up that of the latter.

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[68] Ibid. Cf. Gleason, "Central-Verein," pp. 355ff.

[69] Bulletin, November, 1917.

[70] Kansas City, O'Connell, AABo.

[71] Ibid., August 29, 1917.

After the Kansas City Convention,[72] according to the historians of the Archdiocese of Boston, the "American Federation of Catholic Societies, which had played so great a role down to 1917, seems...to have become inactive."[73] Having adopted the plan of federation on the basis of dioceses instead of societies, the Federation changed the name of the organization to the Catholic Federation of the United States. "By thus directly recognizing the church authorities," stated the Bulletin for November, 1917, the organization hoped to increase not only its numbers but also its influence while retaining its original purpose, the cementing of the bonds of fraternal union among the Catholic laity and the Catholic societies of the United States.[74]

The Federation completed its reorganization during the sixteenth annual Convention in 1917, but the year preceding the

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[72] According to a letter from Bishop Schrembs to Archbishop Bonzano (Kansas City, August 29, 1917, Bonzano, AAD), something unpleasant happened at the Convention subjecting the Delegate to a "rude annoyance." Neither the Matres nor the Kansas City Star could shed any light on the incident, nor does the Bulletin cite a speech in which "principles...diametrically opposed to sound Catholic thought" were uttered.

[73] Lord, Boston, III, 630.

[74] Cf. Bulletin, December, 1917.

Convention had revealed the real status of the organization. Money was, as usual, the most obvious need; and no solution to the situation was available until after the new diocesan plan of organization had been adopted. Even then, at least fifty-two dioceses had indicated either no interest in the new plan, or very little.

Friction between Matre and Dietz had not lessened during the year 1916 to 1917. Dietz's school, the women's federation, and the Bulletin continued to be objects of disagreement. Furthermore, Dietz felt that Matre was misrepresenting him before the Executive Board; and although Muldoon had many times taken the priest's part, Dietz at times annoyed the Bishop with his multiplication of interests. Dietz, too, had grave doubts about placing the Federation under the hierarchy, and was hurt when his own plan of reorganization was ignored.

The work of both the Federation and the Social Service Commission progressed during that year, even though the officers were concerned about the outcome of the proposal of five plans submitted to the bishops. Somehow, and mainly because of money, the Federation did not step in as the representative of the lay forces of the Catholic Church as soon as the war reached the United States. But the AFCS sent three representatives to the first meeting of the National Catholic War Council where they discovered that most of the delegates were members of the Federation.

After passing resolutions to support the work of the Knights of Columbus, the National Catholic War Council, the Red Cross and other agencies, the Federation adjourned its Convention with the same attitude that it had always had after a Convention, namely, that the business of the Federation would be carried on by Matre and the Executive Board, and the Social Service Commission, until the next annual Convention. This was the pattern into which the Federation had fallen during its sixteen years of existence, and no one expected a change.

CHAPTER VII

THE FEDERATION AND THE NATIONAL CATHOLIC WAR COUNCIL

World War I brought about great changes in the lives of Americans, but for Catholic Americans who were members of the Catholic Federation of the United States, there was an additional subtle change not always evident to the naked eye. Within months of the Kansas City Convention the AFCS slowly, but relentlessly, drifted into the orbit of the newly formed National Catholic War Council.

Twenty-seven national organizations sent representatives, many of them members of the Federation, to the meeting in Washington on August 11 and 12, 1917, called by Father John Burke, C.S.P., with the permission of the three Cardinals, Gibbons, Farley and O'Connell.[1] The delegates from among the hierarchy, clergy and laity elected Reverend John J. Burke, C.S.P., as permanent chairman and discussed methods of solving the problems of the war. Apparently the discussions were stormy because Father Burke gave a lengthy discourse on the plan of the Council[2] in terms reminiscent of the statements found in the formative meetings of the AFCS.

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[1] NCWC Papers of the Executive Secretary, ACUA; cf. Williams, Catholics in the War, pp. 113ff.; "The National Catholic War Council," The Survey, XXXIX (December 8, 1917), 296; Fox, "Dietz," pp. 233-235. It is not within the scope of this thesis to attempt a definitive study of the beginnings of the NCWC. The present writer was given permission to use a limited number of documents among the NCWC papers, but there are many other manuscripts not yet available which will add significant information to the history of the NCWC. However, such material that showed how the NCWC absorbed the AFCS has been incorporated into this dissertation.

Burke pointed out the need for each society to give its whole strength to the war effort and indicated that as great as national societies were, they were "smaller than Catholic unity." Echoing the sentiments of the first Catholic Union and of the Catholic Federation, the chairman said, "they [the societies] may all keep their social organization, which is their strength, and yet labor together." But he went further and urged all the societies to work "not for their own glory, not to increase their membership, but for the glory of the Catholic cause."[3]

Other officers elected at that first meeting included three men closely connected with the Federation: Monsignor Michael Lavelle of New York for the Committee on Chaplains; Charles I. Denechaud, former National President, in charge of Recreation and Rest Halls; and Monsignor Michael Splaine of Boston, in charge of Women's Organization.[4] To facilitate matters the NCWC urged the formation of diocesan and parish units with an appropriate officer in charge of liaison with the next high level of activity.[5] This was basically what the reorganized Federation was attempting for future operations.

Cardinal Farley quickly coordinated all the Catholic agencies and societies in New York and forwarded his plan to Cardinal

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[2] Williams, *op. cit.*, Chapter VII.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 131. It would seem that Burke was referring to the Knights of Columbus, just as he had in his speech to the Kansas City Federation Convention, *supra*, p. 270.

[4] Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 137.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 139.

O'Connell through John Agar, the head of the National Council's Finance Committee. In New York, Agar said, "All of the Catholic Societies [were] represented in [the Recreation] Committee, and in its activities they [were to] be enabled to carry out in a large way the very purpose for which they [had been] created." In addition Farley had insisted that the "collection unit should be the parish." A larger Committee operated within the Diocese under the direction of Farley, and "this Committee should bring into operation all of the individuals in the various Sodalities and Societies," who were only "too anxious to do something to promote the Catholic patriotic activities."[6]

O'Connell replied through his secretary, Monsignor Richard Haberlin, "His Eminence says that as a result of his investigation he finds that the Knights of Columbus, by the initiative they have taken, seem to have dulled the enthusiasm for all other projects of a like nature, and that the people are not eager to interest themselves in any other movement." Haberlin noted that in Boston there remained few wealthy men who had not already given generously to the work of the Knights of Columbus, thus it was almost impossible to consider a drive for funds. This, of course, stated Haberlin, was a local situation, and "in sentiment and at heart" the Cardinal was "strongly in favor of the National Catholic War Council." If conditions changed, O'Connell would "be only too happy to give his best efforts in the interest of the Council."[7]

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[6] Agar to O'Connell, New York, October 8, 1917, O'Connell, AABo.

While the bishops were considering to what extent they could cooperate with the National Catholic War Council in their dioceses, Bishop Joseph F. Busch, Chairman of the Organization Committee of the Catholic Federation, requested the same bishops to support "an organization that will truly represent the Catholicity of America." Busch wrote strongly, that in the "world clash of special interests and hope and fear...fierce individualism [was] fast driving men...to pool their efforts and co-operate towards the realization of the universal yearning for social freedom." To counteract a tendency towards radicalism, the Bishop wrote that the Church must add "her influence...to the other factors" "of a new social order." In his mind the best way to be heard and to make any influence felt was through groups and societies, the ideal being the new "plans of the Catholic Federation of America" with the "co-operation of all the Archbishops and Bishops of the country." He further advised the erection of Diocesan centers under a priest through whom information might be channeled.[8] Certainly, this was identical to Father Burke's proposal.

The War Council, in the meantime, sought means to cooperate with other agencies engaged in similar activities. Father Burke wrote to members of non-Catholic organizations urging better coordination, and he received encouraging results. As a result of his overtures, there was formed a Committee of Six with Burke as President and comprised of John R. Mott of the Young Men's Christian Association, Bishop James Perry of the War-time Commission of the Episcopal Church; Dr. Robert Speer and Dr. William A. Brown of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, and Colonel Harry Cutler, head of the Jewish War Commission. Secretary of War Newton Baker appointed this fairly representative group as an advisory committee to the War Department so that the high standards of morality in the camps in this country would be reproduced in the camps overseas.[9]

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[7] Haberlin to Agar, Boston, October 15, 1917, O'Connell, (copy), AABo.

[8] Busch to O'Connell, St. Cloud, September 27, 1917, O'Connell, AABo; copy to Bonzano, September 28, 1917, AAD; Bulletin, November, 1917.

Meanwhile, the Knights of Columbus had their program under way. With the approval of President Wilson and Raymond B. Fosdick, Chairman of the Commission on Training Camp Activities, the KC were recognized as a legitimate organization to assist in expanding and conducting facilities in the training camps for the recreational and spiritual aid of the service men.[10] Supreme Knight James A. Flaherty and his Executive Council issued an appeal for $1,000,000 to be called the Knights of Columbus War Camp Fund[11] for the purpose of offering the Order's services to all men on the bases. The Knights also planned to enlist the aid of the clergy to provide chaplains for the camps.

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[9] Williams, Catholics in the War, pp. 141-142.

[10] Ibid., pp. 98-100.

[11] Ibid., p. 98.

Friction between the Catholic War Council in New York under Father Burke and the Knights of Columbus halted combined Catholic war work. Cardinal Gibbons, working on a solution, informed Monsignor Lavelle, "I had Mr. James Flaherty, Supreme President of the Knight's (sic) of Columbus to call here. He consented to appoint a Committee of three, who will meet a Committee of three designated by Father Burke, Paulist," to "clear the way for a better understanding of the differences which have arisen regarding the assistance which we are to afford the Govt in the conduct of the war."[12]

For some reason this meeting failed in its purpose, and the only clue to the cause is in a letter of Joseph Frey of the Central Verein to Frederick Kenkel of the Central Bureau:

> I had felt all along-that all was not - as it should be - with the Nat'l War Council and the facts disclosed to me, by Rev. Burke but confirm my views. The K. of C (sic)- are trying to ignore the War Council - and run the whole business themselves to the exclusion of any other Society. They don't want any supervision by any authority - Ecclesiastical - or otherwise. It is a long story of intrigue and wire pulling - too long to narrate here.[13]

Gibbons finally solved the problem in his usual manner; he turned the Catholic war activities over to the hierarchy.

At a discussion among the Prelates assembled for the semi-annual meeting of the Catholic University Trustees, the hierarchy decided to reorganize the War Council. Gibbons wrote a letter to each bishop in the country on November 21, 1917, saying, "It was our unanimous opinion that the Hierarchy should act in concert; that the responsibility of taking the lead and organizing rested upon the Bd of Archbs, as our only constituted body; that, accordingly, the Bd of Archbs should organize without delay as a Catholic War Council." If deemed necessary, the Cardinal wrote, the Board "should associate with itself a number of Bps for the active direction and carrying on of Catholic work in the war. It was also agreed that we ought to consider the best means of utilizing the services of the gentlemen, clerical and lay, who as our representatives, had formed the National Catholic War Council."

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[12] Baltimore, October 10, 1917, Gibbons, AAB; cf. Burke to Mundelein, New York, October 21, 1917, Mundelein, AACh.

[13] New York, November 26, 1917, (Confidential), Kenkel, AUND. (Frey had a most disconcerting way of scattering dashes in his letters for no apparent reason.) This friction was not discussed in Williams, Catholics in the War, pp. 143ff. where he treats the reorganization of the NCWC, nor in Maurice Egan and J.B.Kennedy, Knights of Columbus in Peace and War, 2 vols. (New Haven, 1920), Vol. I.

The Cardinal listed "several questions demanding immediate consideration," among them the organization of the war council, chaplains, legislation in Congress that would affect religious matters, a budget, raising of funds, the Knights of Columbus' status and sphere of work, erection of halls for religious and social needs in the camps, school for training secretaries and trained camp workers, combatting of immorality, safeguarding of Catholic young men and girls, preparation and distribution of religious literature to service men, organization of local war councils, keeping war records and mental and moral preparation of the people for the war.[14]

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[14] Gibbons to O'Connell, Baltimore, November 21, 1917, O'Connell, AABo; cf. Williams, Catholics in the War, pp. 144-146.

In acknowledging Gibbons' letter O'Connell recommended that "the Knights of Columbus be one of the accrediting agencies under the National Catholic War Council, and that this Society work along parallel lines...with the work which the Y.M.C.A." was doing.[15] Father Burke's War Council would not be dissolved but would become the "Executive arm of the Archbishops."

Joseph Frey was disgusted with the publicity being given the Knights of Columbus, especially since the Central Verein had an active social service program in operation. He wrote to Kenkel on November 26 that Father Burke agreed with Frey's opinion that "fair credit should be given to CV...and he...told the Gentlemen in Washington." However, Frey feared that "any criticism of the K.C.-or their methods-[would] be construed by them-and the Administration-as illoyal and lacking in Patriotism." But he thought that the Knights made "hired men" of the chaplains whose salaries they paid. He continued, "Father Burke said...either the war council will be recognized and backed up-by the Archbishops collectively -or the War Council go (sic) out of business and the welfare work done by each Diocese as well or as bad as they (sic) may."[16]

In the meantime, Matre reported in the Bulletin for November, 1917, that the committee appointed at Kansas City to work with the War Council had attended the late August meeting of the NCWC.

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[15] O'Connell to Gibbons, Boston, November 28, 1917, O'Connell, (copy), AABo.

[16] Frey to Kenkel, op. cit.

The Council passed a resolution:

> That the National Catholic War Council gratefully accepts the proffered co-operation of the Catholic Federation of the United States in carrying out its program for the spiritual and material welfare of our soldiers at home and abroad, and that it elects to its council the whole committee appointed by the Catholic Federation of the U.S.

With the circulation of Gibbons' letter to the hierarchy, it seemed that two organizations were being reorganized, the Federation and the War Council, when only one well-integrated group was necessary for the war effort. However, some bishops held the opinion that there was room for all to work and need for all the resources in men and money. Archbishop Glennon suggested that the Knights of Columbus receive just recognition for the work they were doing, but that the Committee headed by Father Burke should continue especially in those dioceses and cities where the Knights had "either partly failed or not attempted" to organize the resources.[17]

But Gibbons had been encouraged by the response to his letter of November 21 and had appointed a sub-committee of Bishops to do the work of the new War Council because the Archbishops, heads of the Council, would find it impossible to meet as frequently as necessary to carry on the work entailed.[18] He appointed Bishop Muldoon head of the Committee, assisted by Bishops William Russell of Charleston, Patrick Hayes, Auxiliary of New York, and Schrembs of Toledo.[19] Significantly, two Prelates, Muldoon and Schrembs, active for years in the Federation, were nominated for positions on the sub-committee.

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[17] Glennon to Gibbons, St. Louis, November 21, 1917, Gibbons, AAB.

[18] Gibbons to Glennon, Baltimore, November 24, 1917, Gibbons, (copy), AAB.

Federation activities continued during the formative days of the NCWC. Numerous mass meetings were planned in the Boston Archdiocese to state "clearly the Catholic position in regard to the proposed /State Constitutional/ Anti-Sectarian Amendment," a measure that would prevent the state from giving aid or assistance to any worthy educational or charitable institution not under state control. The usual semi-annual Convention of the Archdiocese was planned for October 28 in Mission Church Hall.[20] And the final draft of the new Constitution of the Federation was submitted to O'Connell on October 26, 1917, by Matre who asked that the Cardinal "inform /him/ whether the revision" met with His "Eminence's approval."[21]

The following week Matre wrote the Cardinal that Mr. William Zinsser, Chairman of the Sub-Committee of the Council of National Defense, had sent out circulars to open a campaign against all forms of vice. "Since the work of the Council of National Defense" was a nation-wide affair, Matre thought of "pointing out to Mr. Zinsser some of the sources of vice against which an effective crusade might be waged," a matter "in keeping with Federation's work of 'Combating Moral Decadanee'.(sic)" At Matre's request[22] and with O'Connell's permission Haberlin forwarded to Zinsser the letter containing the suggestions.[23]

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[19] Williams, Catholics in the War, p. 149.

[20] Splaine to Haberlin, Roxbury, October 17, 1917, Haberlin, AABo.

[21] Chicago, O'Connell, AABo.

[22] Ibid., November 6, 1917.

At the same time the War Council was progressing. Bishop Muldoon received his official appointment as Chairman of the Administrative Committee, NCWC, from Cardinal Gibbons through Reverend John Fenlon, S.S., of the Catholic University, and the Bishop said he "would serve both as a patriotic duty and as a catholic (sic) duty."[24] He called a meeting for January 9, 1918, in Washington.[25] But ten days before the NCWC was to meet, Muldoon attended an Executive Committee meeting of the Federation in Chicago. Funds were very low with no "way of replacing or replenishing the treasury. No date or place [was set] for Convention" because it was "doubtful if it [would] be possible to hold" one on account of the war. There was "no progress at the meeting."[26]

Muldoon had to postpone the Washington meeting until January 16 because of his attending the funeral of Bishop John Foley of Detroit, following which he was delayed by a heavy snowstorm. He found the Committee of Bishops "a most agreeable and delightful one,"[27] but two days of listening to reports of the Old National War Council (Father Burke's group) and the Knights of

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[23] Haberlin to Matre, Boston, November 9, 1917, Haberlin, (copy), AABo.

[24] Muldoon's Diary, December 26, 1917, ACUA. Gibbons wrote confirming the appointment, ibid., January 2, 1918. Cf. Williams, Catholics in the War, pp. 146-148.

[25] Muldoon's Diary, December 28, 1917, ACUA.

[26] Ibid., January 15, 1918.

[27] Ibid., January 16, 1918; Minutes, AABo, photostatic copy, AUND; Williams, op. cit., p. 147.

Columbus was "hard work."[28] The Bishop told each group to appoint six men to form the two standing committees which, with the bishops, would constitute the Executive Committee.[29] The Knights of Columbus Committee on War Activities would provide for recreational programs and special care of the camps both at home and abroad; and the Committee on Special War Activities under Father Burke would act as a sort of managerial body.[30]

The whole structure of the reorganized National Catholic War Council was based on the administration of the fourteen Archbishops in the United States. These were assisted by the Administrative Committee comprised of Bishops Muldoon, Russell, Hayes and Schrembs. Next in order was an Executive Committee consisting of the four Bishops, six members of the Knights of Columbus Committee on War Activities and six members of the Committee on Special War Activities. The Executive Committee was an Advisory Board which met regularly for the general discussion of all national Catholic war activities.[31]

In addition to Muldoon and Schrembs, two other federationists received prominent positions on the Executive Committee of the NCWC, Monsignor Splaine and Charles I. Denechaud. Bishop

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[28] Muldoon's Diary, January 16,17, 1918; Minutes.

[29] Muldoon's Diary, January 17,18, 1918; Williams, op. cit., pp. 152ff; Minutes; Bulletin, February, 1918.

[30] Muldoon's Diary, January 18, 1918; Minutes; cf. Gibbons to Hierarchy, Baltimore, January 12, 1918, and Gibbons to Bishops' Committee, Baltimore, January 22, 1918, Mundelein, AACh, microfilm, AUND.

[31] Williams, Catholics in the War, p. 152.

Hayes was given charge of all "work in regards to chaplains." And national organizations were brought into the work of the Council through membership on a General Committee, formed by two delegates from each organization, two "from each diocese and other distinguished Catholics as Committee saw fit."[32]

The mustering of all Catholic forces under the National Catholic War Council would probably not have been accomplished so quickly and comparatively easily had there not been an organization such as the Federation. It was the claim of the NCWC that it listed, coordinated and brought into action the membership of 14,673 Catholic societies. "This task...was accomplished by the Committee on Special War Activities when it affiliated the work of 9,714 Catholic men's organizations and 4,959 women's organizations with the N.C.W.C." First to respond to the appeal for a list of members were the AFCS and many of its affiliated societies, living up to the claim that the million members would cooperate with the Catholic war effort.[33]

In addition to being Chairman of the Committee on Federation, Cardinal O'Connell was a member of the Archbishops' Committee of the War Council. Throughout the formative days of the NCWC, the Cardinal encouraged the Federation to plan for postwar activities when the War Council's existence would be terminated. But at the same time O'Connell did not make any suggestions for the use of the AFCS in the war effort as he had done for the Knights of Columbus.

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[32] Muldoon's Diary, January 18, 1918; Minutes.

[33] NCWC, Papers of the Executive Secretary, ACUA; National Catholic War Council Bulletin, I (February, 1920), 13; Report of the Committee on Special War Activities submitted to the Administrative Committee, February, 1919, NCWC, Papers of the Executive Secretary. There can be found no mention of Federation in the NCWC Bulletin, but several references to it and its cooperation are found in the papers at ACUA. Bulletin, August-September-October, 1917.

However, in his own Archdiocese he kept the Federation busy. During the year 1917, Boston's Federation had supported seventy-five lay speakers at the various district meetings, one of them noting, "Hundreds of thousands of well-disposed non-Catholics are being taught through Federation and through the magnificent work of Archbishop O'Connell and the splendid men who are assisting him in the great work of that body."[34] The Cardinal also asked Monsignor Splaine to select two lawyers who would represent the views of Federation in legislative matters and be known as the Legislative Committee. He made it clear to Splaine, however, that "this Committee, and this Committee only" was to "represent Federation at legislative hearings."[35] It seemed clear that the Cardinal expected the Federation to survive the war.

The National Federation, likewise, kept in touch with O'Connell. He received two letters dated the same day, from Agar and Matre, about a protest to be lodged by "the Catholic Federation of England...against the campaign of misrepresentation of His Holiness Benedict XV.," objecting "to the campaign of calumny.. being carried on to his discredit." Edward Eyre of England had written to John Agar requesting him to inform both the KC and the AFCS, and Mr. Mara, Secretary of the Salford, England, Federation, had written to Matre; both Americans consulted O'Connell about asking "the British Government to use its good offices with the French and Italian Governments to prevent a continuance of these calumnies."[36] The Cardinal gave permission for both American organizations to register their protests,[37] Mr. Mara acting for the Federation.[38]

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[34] Report in AABo; the speaker was Thomas M. Nolan, Everett, Mass.

[35] Haberlin to Splaine, Boston, February 20, 1918, Haberlin, AABo.

Matre's report to O'Connell of the Executive Committee meeting of the AFCS in March, 1918, was lengthy:

> The Executive Board of the Catholic Federation of the United States, held a meeting on March 6th, and decided to abandon the holding of an Annual Convention this year, on account of the war.
>
> To keep Federation activities alive during the year, a meeting of the Advisory and Executive Boards, as well as of all Standing Committees will be called sometime during the summer.
>
> We had at our Meeting, Bishop Muldoon, Chairman of the Catholic War Council, and Bishop Schrembs, a member of said Council.
>
> After listening to the reports of these two Prelates as to the progress of the Catholic War Council, it was deemed advisable to urge our Societies everywhere to co-ordinate their activities by placing themselves at the disposal of said War Council.

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[36] Agar to O'Connell, New York; Matre to O'Connell, Chicago, February 23, 1918, O'Connell, AABo.

[37] Haberlin to Agar, February 26, 1918; to Matre, February 27, 1918, Boston, Haberlin, (copies), AABo.

[38] Matre to Mara, Chicago, March 1, 1918, appended to Resolutions of the Executive Committee Meeting, March 6, 1918, AABo, photostatic copy AUND. Bulletin, April, 1918. Cf. Matre to O'Connell, Chicago, August 1, 1918, O'Connell, AABo, in which Matre said President Wilson had opposed the seating of the Pope at the peace conference.

> I was instructed to communicate with Your Eminence, to ask you, as Chairman of the Archbishops Commission, to propose to the next Annual Meeting of the Archbishops of the United States, the desirability of continuing the Organization of the Catholic War Council as a Federation effort, for the purpose of continuing general Catholic activities, and after-war problems.
>
> We believe that the Catholic War Council will be an instrument to bring together the efforts of all the Dioceses in the United States, as well as of our National Organizations, and if this Organization could be continued after the war, we would have a real Catholic Federation of the United States.
>
> Personally, I believe that Providence is shaping things in that direction for us, and with the encouragement of Your Eminence, and the Members of your Commission, our fondest hopes for a strong Lay-Apostolate guided by Episcopal authority, will soon be realized.
>
> Will Your Eminence present this matter to the attention of the Archbishops?

The report concluded with a request about the proper attitude for the Federation to take towards prohibition in order to safeguard the use of wine for sacramental purposes.[39] Appended to the letter were the resolutions, Matre's letter simply phrased in more formal style.

O'Connell replied through Haberlin agreeing "with the proposal to continue the organization of the Catholic War Council as a Federation effort for the purpose of continuing general Catholic activities and after-war problems." He did not think it "necessary to do more than to merely take over into Federation the organization formed by the War Council." The Cardinal also agreed with Matre that the Secretary should "inform the Federated Societies.../to/ get in touch with the proper authorities" before "the Prohibition Amendment /came/ up in their respective States for vote" to see to it that the Amendment specifically stated that wine for Sacramental purposes would be permitted.[40]

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[39] Matre to O'Connell, Chicago, March 11, 1918, O'Connell, AABo, photostatic copy, AUND; Bulletin, April, 1918; January, 1918; supra, p.219 , Schrembs' warning to Dietz about postponing an annual Convention.

In the spring of 1918 no one could be certain of the outcome of the war, and O'Connell was very likely unsure about the future of the Federation for that reason. Since the Archbishops controlled all lay activities in both the AFCS and the NCWC, perhaps they themselves did not know what disposition they would make of the two organizations after the war. O'Connell indisputably "gave enthusiastic support" to both organizations,[41] but it is difficult to evaluate his proper attitude towards them.

Matre kept the federationists informed through the Bulletin as usual. He notified them in January, 1918, of the stand the Federation would take relative to prohibition and also stated that the governments of Chicago, Ohio and Pennsylvania had adopted measures to censor movies. In February, 1918, Dietz published a lengthy article about the prevalence of euthanasia, and Matre told the readers that the Australian Federation was interested in movie censorship. The March, 1918, issue announced the postponement of the annual Convention but reminded the members that the annual dues had not been postponed.[42] Woman suffrage had been discussed in the Bulletin for more than four years, and although Cardinal Gibbons and Archbishop Messmer were opposed to the idea because of the possible harm to the family, the Federation endorsed the proposal.[43]

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[40] Haberlin to Matre, Boston, March 15, 1918, Haberlin, (copy), AABo.

[41] John E. Sexton, Cardinal O'Connell (Boston, 1926), p. 239. Sexton added that the NCWC's success was insured by the endorsement of "the convention of Federation in Kansas City." This may be true since the Federation could reach the millions of Catholics affiliated with the AFCS.

Muldoon, busy in New York and Washington with the work of the War Council, visited Chicago where he "met the **members** of the Federation Mesrs (sic) Flynn Cannon & Matre in C.O.F.Rooms and discussed the giving of the pages of the Federation Bulletin (sic) to the Publicity Committee of the War Council. All were in favor of doing so."[44] Another item discussed in that meeting concerned Father Dietz, but Muldoon wrote Dietz, "I cannot well write you about what is up. You may have to see Messrs Matre & Flynn after seeing me."[45]

The NCWC meanwhile was experiencing some of the vicissitudes felt by the Federation in its early years, and for that matter chronically. One difficulty noted by Father Kerby was the inability of the officers to devote sufficient time to the project, all having dioceses, classes or some other obligations to fulfill. Furthermore, he added:

> The problems that confront the War Council are, of course, problems which arise because the Church in

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[42] Also in printed form, AAD.

[43] Bulletin, April, 1913ff.

[44] Muldoon's Diary, April 19, 1918, ACUA.

[45] Muldoon to Dietz, Rockford, April 20, 1918, Dietz, ACB.

> the United States is called upon to adjust itself to a new national situation. The process is one that challenges not only our natural and supernatural resources but also our ability to administer these resources in an orderly and effective way at a time when the nation faces the greatest crisis in its history. You are familiar with the tempermental (sic) and institutional factors of the Church which make its action slow. We have had abundant illustration of this in the vicissitudes of past nine months when efforts were made to create the War Council.
>
> Apathy, lack of vision and impulse, narrow local views have been found side by side with the greatest eagerness to render service in the name of faith and country...The Council was confronted by a number of problems for the mastery of which it knew no precedent and could invoke no compulsion.

Catholic activity was to be aroused and directed, while at the same time Catholics were encouraged to do their share in all national and civic movements. "Existing Catholic organizations were to be recognized to the utmost, yet organization narrowness was to be overcome in the common purpose" which united Catholics at that point, Kerby continued. Catholics were called upon to do all that Catholics and citizens could do. The manner of doing it, the policies, the administration "had to be studied, tested, revised and supervised," he said, and there had been "no experience by which to be guided."

Kerby continued:

> We have found organizations apathetic. In some instances a third letter has been necessary to secure a reply. The Historical Committee sent out twelve thousand letters to the pastors of the United States. It has not received eleven per cent of replies. Not one-half of the Bishops had appointed members to represent dioceses in the national organization of the War Council up to May 25...I doubt if a fairer opportunity

> ever confronted the Church in her history...One thing is imperative. I believe that it conditions the success or failure of the National Catholic War Council as a whole. That is the gathering together of a small group, gifted with vision and power who eill (sic) give to the Council unremitting attention and uninterrupted consecration....We are not alone in our confusion and delay. The Government has been so awkward and hampered in its work that we have ceased to wonder at it.[46]

Kerby's observations indicate that the Federation would have faced even more difficulties than the Catholic War Council during the war days because the new plan of reorganization of the AFCS depended upon support from the parishes for its success. And eighty-nine per cent of the parishes were not backing the War Council's requests for information to keep the soldiers' records up to date. His letter also implies that the Archbishops were puzzled about handling an organization on so large a scale. Furthermore, he vindicated Dietz's notion of using an educated personnel when he suggested placing the administration of the Catholic War Council in the hands of a small, talented group.

The Knights of Columbus were asked to cancel their plans to solicit a million dollars because the federal government decided there were too many agencies collecting money. Hence, as part of the Catholic War Council, the KC participated in the United Fund Drive. Besides the NCWC, the Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations, the Jewish Welfare Board, the American Library Association, the War Camps Community Service and the Salvation Army cooperated in this joint appeal for funds to carry on their work in the various camps. Bishop Muldoon stated in a speech at the Archdiocesan conference in New York that out of "one hundred and three bishops in the country, one hundred and one have already notified us of their intention to enter the campaign."[47]

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[46] WJK[erby] to Muldoon, Washington, May 29, 1918, NCWC Papers of the Executive Secretary, ACUA.

As the Catholic War Council progressed, the Federation seemed to multiply difficulties. Dietz met AFCS President Flynn as suggested by Muldoon. Flynn accused the priest of doing nothing for the Social Service Commission. Calling Flynn a "soundrel," Dietz then turned his wrath upon Muldoon, charging the Bishop with failure to back the priest on the "labor problem, drink, women's question, social insurance, education of the field-worker,...questions that would have made Federation throb with life." Thinking it imprudent to resign, Dietz told Muldoon he would if the Bishop advised him to. But the priest's final words indicated that he had not lost hope in the Federation: "Federation has been the balance between the possible and the impossible for me...I still believe that the Federation is to be the medium that will elevate Americanism to its fitting place in the varieties of Catholic national plans, decorating the garden of God." Dietz was convinced that his mission was to be "one of many within this Federation." His final expression of confidence was an invitation to the Executive Committee, which had understood him so poorly, to hold its next meeting at his school, the American Academy of Christian Democracy, in Cincinnati.[48]

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[47] Williams, Catholics in the War, p. 199. The Catholics raised 17.6% of the $170,500,000 collected in the joint drive, ibid., p. 207.

Letters passed back and forth about holding the meeting in Cincinnati. Muldoon promised to put the request to the Committee;[49] and Edward Feeney, former National President and currently Chairman of the Committee on Public Morals of the Federation, wrote, "I hope you will be able to convince the rest, as the gathering would give a boost to the neglected, but most important bit of our constructive work, Social Service."[50]

Muldoon could devote little time to the AFCS, however, because the NCWC work was "becoming heavy" and required much time.[51] He found that the budget for the following year would "be 50 million if the war" continued,[52] and he was very busy with correspondence about the budget and other urgent matters. O'Connell had great fears about so much money passing through the hands of the officers of the NCWC and "not much confidence in some of the K of C appointed to do the spending." He wrote Muldoon, "Let us hope we will all get through the affair without a scandal. I have the fullest confidence that yourself and the other Bishops on the Committee will take nothing for granted, but will follow the money to its last resting place."[53]

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[48] Dietz to Muldoon, Cincinnati, May 20, 1918, Dietz, (copy), ACB. This optimism seems to contradict a notation that Dietz placed on the last issue of the Newsletter for April 16, 1918, Finis Federationis.

[49] Muldoon to Dietz, Rockford, May 25, 1918, Dietz, ACB.

[50] Feeney to Dietz, Brooklyn, June 10, 1918, Dietz, ACB.

[51] Muldoon's Diary, July 1, 1918, ACUA.

[52] Ibid., July 13, 1918.

In the meantime the Federation was rapidly deteriorating. Heckenkamp especially was distressed and thought Dietz's and his views "on Federation were absolutely correct, namely that it [was] a laymen's movement and should remain so." Of the advancing ecclesiastical control he wrote, "Matre's episcopal plan is panning out to be a fizzle I believe, just as I expected from the start. I feel...that the day is not far off when the movement of Federation will be in healthy sympathy with your efforts and that day will mark the beginning of a real Catholic lay movement in this country."[54]

By September 3, 1918, Heckenkamp's worst fears were realized; the Federation was "in a bad way,...[and] almost at the end of the rope." Financially, Federation had never been in a worse situation, but Heckenkamp thought it might "after all be providential. If this Federation [died] another one [would] spring up in its place, possibly under a different name, but...a federated body of Catholic laymen."[55] With Heckenkamp's gloomy assessment Muldoon seemed in agreement as he wrote in his Diary, the "organization was built on too cheap lines for success."[56] At a meeting on September 2, 1918, the Executive Board, chaired by Thomas Cannon of Chicago, decided to discontinue the SSC with the office of its secretary, to publish the Bulletin bi-monthly, to reduce the salaries of Matre and his son, and to keep in touch with each other by mail to save expenses.[57] A terse note to Dietz informed him of his dismissal.[58]

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[53] O'Connell to Muldoon, Boston, August 12, 1918, O'Connell, (copy), AABo.

[54] Heckenkamp to Dietz, Quincy, August 16, 1918, Dietz, ACB.

[55] Ibid., September 3, 1918. Monsignor Victor Suren of CB says that Heckenkamp was an excellent organization man with no personal ambition.

[56] Muldoon's Diary, September 2, 1918, ACUA. This is the last entry on the Federation.

The Federation, however, did not die immediately. E. J. Cooney of the Executive Board and of the Jefferson County, Kentucky, Federation, wrote to Muldoon as head of the NCWC telling him that before the formation of the Council the Louisville Diocesan Branch of the Federation had begun a campaign to aid the working girls who had been recruited for war industries. Since the decision had been made that all funds for such purposes were to be collected through the NCWC,[59] Cooney wanted some help "to supply the Sisters who conduct the Visitation House with the necessary means to meet the situation," especially since the local organizations were "effectively precluded by the national policy from affording the relief necessary."[60] Muldoon's reply is not available. However, this is an example of the confusion resulting from the existence of two parallel organizations.

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[57] Cannon to Messmer, Chicago, September 6, 1918, Dietz, (copy), ACB. The Matres said that their father had never taken a cent of salary and isolated letters would verify that statement. Both Anthony and his son Frank were paid by the CKA after the elder became its National Secretary in 1915. Heckenkamp, entitled to a token remuneration for services, had received no pay.

[58] Cannon to Dietz, ibid., with a copy of the letter to Messmer enclosed; cf. Fox, "Dietz," pp. 231ff.

[59] Cooney to Muldoon, Louisville, September 24, 1918, NCWC papers of the Executive Secretary, ACUA; O'Connell to Muldoon, op. cit., August 18, 1918.

[60] Cooney to Muldoon, op. cit.

Similarly Matre continued his task of keeping the National Federation in operation even though grieved by the death of a son in the service of his country.[61] When the armistice had been agreed upon, he asked O'Connell if the Federation should not send "a dignified request...to President Wilson, asking him to use his good offices in having...an invitation extended" to the Holy Father to be included in the peace conference.[62] His Eminence replied through Haberlin that "no Peace Conference can really be complete without" the Pope, but "before Federation officially [took] up the matter" Matre "should consult...Cardinal Gibbons, and the Apostolic Delegate, and ascertain their recommendations."[63] Although Matre had proceeded in accordance with the policy of the AFCS not to act without consulting the proper authority, requests and protests were becoming increasingly undesirable. Neither Gibbons nor Bonzano answered Matre, but after a long delay Father Albert Smith, Gibbons' secretary, wrote, "Cardinal Gibbons is doing what he can to have the Holy Father represented at the peace table."[64]

In the meantime, Dietz, as a result of his abrupt dismissal from the SSC, was in Cincinnati, a strange diocese, in financial difficulties and in danger of having his clerical faculties removed. Muldoon said he had not known Federation's plans for the priest,[65] who asked for a share of the War Council's funds for reconstruction because his work was of that nature.[66] The Bishop advised Dietz to write to Father Burke and Mr. Cooper to whom Muldoon "had spoken about" the priest and his work,[67] but neither replied to the letter that Dietz sent. With his plan of social service already functioning in Cincinnati, Dietz was further disturbed to learn that the Catholic War Council was going to adopt a system of reconstruction suggested by Father John A. Ryan at a meeting of the Louisville Knights of Columbus on December 1, 1918.[68]

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[61] O'Connell to Matre, Boston, October 23, 1918, O'Connell, (copy), AABo; Muldoon to Dietz, New York, October 22, 1918, Dietz, ACB, gives the cause as influenza. The epidemic of Spanish influenza raging in late 1918 claimed as victims civilians and service people alike.

[62] Matre to O'Connell, Chicago, November 16, 1918, O'Connell, AABo; Bulletin, May, 1918.

[63] Haberlin to Matre, Boston, November 18, 1918, Haberlin, (copy), AABo.

[64] Matre to O'Connell, December 19, 1918, Chicago, O'Connell, AABo.

In a telegram to Muldoon on December 27, 1918, Father Burke announced that the Knights of Columbus "had no reconstruction proramme (sic) of their own."[69] On the same day Father Engelen wrote to Kenkel that after "all the talk of reconstruction, suddenly every one (sic) [had] become quiet." Engelen was extremely annoyed that the rumors touched "such lights" as Ryan "and another celebrity" (not identified) but omitted Husslein, Kenkel and the Centralblatt.

Father Engelen told Kenkel that in Toledo "we tried to do some thing (sic)" for workingmen, but they found "Federation... armless." For all these difficulties Engelen had an explanation: "Every time that a practical plan is formulated, at the last minute some eccles. authority either takes it out of the hands of the laity, or high-handedly, and not at all acquainted with the preceding discussion, at which they were not present, they give us their enlightened opinion, and force recognition of their immature suggestion."[70]

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[65] Muldoon to Dietz, October 22, 1918, op. cit.

[66] Dietz to Muldoon, Cincinnati, December 6, 1918, Dietz, (copy), ACB.

[67] Muldoon to Dietz, Rockford, n.d., Dietz, ACB.

[68] John A. Ryan, Social Doctrine in Action (New York, 1941), pp. 144-145.

[69] Burke to Muldoon, December 27, 1918, Telegram, NCWC, ACUA. No mention of Federation is found in the list of agencies involved in reconstruction, Papers of the Executive Secretary, NCWC, December 16, 1918, ACUA.

The Central Verein was not overlooked when Bishop Muldoon was chosen head of the NCWC's new Social Service Commission. Muldoon wrote to Kenkel asking his cooperation, saying that it was necessary "to select a definite and practical program for the Department to follow."[71] Burdened with this new responsibility, Muldoon still worked in the interest of Father Dietz. Messmer must have forgotten to write to Moeller about Dietz's faculties, and Muldoon offered to remind Messmer at the Federation meeting "planned for next Tuesday."[72] These many acts of kindness by Muldoon failed to eradicate the sense of hurt that Dietz felt as a result of his dismissal from Federation's SSC. He told Muldoon that Flynn had said the action came as a result of "your and Schrembs' recommendation."[73]

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[70] Engelen to Kenkel, Toledo, December 27, 1918, Kenkel, AUND.

[71] Muldoon to Kenkel, Washington, January 15, 1919, Kenkel, AUND; Bulletin, June, 1918; October-November-December, 1919.

[72] Muldoon to Dietz, Washington, January 23, 1919, Dietz, ACB. Bishop Muldoon also tried to obtain loans of money for Father Dietz and did secure some from Father Noll. Cf. Fox, "Dietz," pp. 232ff. and 298-300 for this period.

[73] Dietz to Muldoon, n.p., February 17, 1919, Dietz, (copy), ACB.

A kind letter from Messmer ultimately reinstated Dietz in the Archdiocese of Cincinnati.[74] But before being relieved of that anxiety, and of the uncertainty of his position in Cincinnati, Dietz had asked many, including Fathers Cavanaugh and Noll, for aid. To the former he suggested that the President of Notre Dame turn over the 4% interest on Liberty Bonds for financing the new series of courses at Dietz's school.[75] Cavanaugh's jovial response made no mention of money.[76] While Father Noll made no reference to offering personal assistance, he did suggest that "the National Catholic War Council should invest a little money in a permanent institution for the conduct of reconstruction work as well as of social service."[77] Father Burke very tardily replied to an earlier letter of Dietz that he had no funds except the general funds from the United War Work Drive which could not be used for permanent Catholic work. He agreed, though, to the need of social service.[78]

Father Noll, writing in the American Ecclesiastical Review for January, 1919, stated that the real needs in Catholic circles were leadership and organization. Catholic societies, he said, lacked life because there were no trained leaders, and even the "big national organization with the formidable name 'The American

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[74] Ibid., March 31, 1919; Dietz to Messmer, n.p., February 17; March 31, 1919, Dietz, (copies), ACB.

[75] Dietz to Cavanaugh, Cincinnati, December 21, 1918, Cavanaugh, (form letter), AUND.

[76] Cavanaugh to Dietz, Notre Dame, January 22, 1919, Cavanaugh, (copy), AUND; Dietz, ACB.

[77] Noll to Dietz, Huntington, February 21, 1919, Dietz, ACB.

[78] Burke to Dietz, Washington, March 8, 1919, Dietz, ACB.

Federation of Catholic Societies'" existed only in name while Protestants thought it existed in fact. Although the Federation did all its work between Conventions through its National Secretary, its Protestant counterpart, the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, Noll pointed out, had an "executive committee of thirty members,...monthly meetings, and frequent special meetings." To Noll, the International Sunday School Association with its twenty-two paid specialists was even stronger.[79]

The Bishops' Plan of Reconstruction, published on February 12, 1919, contained elements that only trained personnel could handle. This Plan was an amalgamation of many proposed ideas put together by Father Ryan. It included the industrial replacement of the discharged soldiers and sailors; withdrawal of women from industry without great loss or inconvenience to them; no lowering of the general level of wages attained during the war; government regulation of prices or the establishment of co-operative stores to reduce high cost of living; some sort of social insurance; labor participation in industrial management; vocational schools; and the reduction of child labor. All of these methods, laws, and recommendations had been "recognized in principle by the United States during the war." Therefore, the Bishops could set them before the people with good hope of obtaining a sympathetic and practical response.[80]

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[79] "Our Opportunities as Catholic Leaders," LX (January, 1919), 57-61.

[80] Raphael M. Huber, O.F.M. Conv., Our Bishops Speak 1919-1951 (Milwaukee, 1952), pp. 249-257; Bishops' Program of Social Reconstruction (Washington, 1920), reprinted in 1950. This document can be found in many other sources. Cf. Ryan, op.cit., pp. 144-145.

No one could fail to sympathize with Father Dietz as he wailed to Heckenkamp, "Now the war-council publishes its document and it if is (sic) not a vindication of all that I suffered for and have been often times blamed for, what is it?"[81] And once more he deplored the manner in which he had been summarily removed from the Federation. Heckenkamp's reply predicted the coming events for the Federation, when he said, "just between you and I (sic), I think the Federation's requiem might be sung almost any day. Matre just informed me that unless the bishops in the country can raise $5,000,000. (sic) as an endowment fund, he is ready to throw up the sponge."[82]

However, the National Secretary continued publicizing the work of the Federation although he must have perceived that the end was near. He asked O'Connell on February 5, 1919, what should be done about Educational Bill, S 4987, introduced by Hoke Smith, Senator of Georgia, which was "characterized as being quite drastic and...very ratical (sic)."[83] Haberlin notified Matre that O'Connell was out of town, however, "Bill #S.4987 had been brought to the attention of His Eminence by the Secretary of the Catholic Educational Association...His Eminence said that he saw nothing but evil in this Bill, and told the Secretary of the Association that he hoped everything possible would be done to defeat it."[84]

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[81] Dietz to Heckenkamp, n.p., February 17, 1919, Dietz, (copy), ACB; Fox, "Dietz," p. 234.

[82] Heckenkamp to Dietz, Quincy, April 4, 1919, Dietz, ACB.

[83] Matre to O'Connell, Chicago, February 5, 1919, O'Connell, AABo.

[84] Haberlin to Matre, Boston, February 7, 1919, Haberlin, (copy), AABo.

No instructions were given to Matre about the position the Federation should take on the matter.

Three weeks later, on February 28, 1919, an informal meeting of some of the members of the Executive Board of the Catholic Federation of the United States was held at which "the future of Federation was discussed." Matre notified O'Connell, writing, "We are very anxious to have a frank expression from Your Eminence to present to the Executive Board meeting, telling us what Your Eminence thinks is best for Federation; what work it can best engage in, and where its most fruitful activities may be exercised." In addition he asked, "if Your Eminence would indicate whether or not Federation is the best possible agency to carry on the necessary propaganda and defense work in the United States, or...can.../this work/ be better done under other auspices or through other channels."

Matre was offering to the Cardinal his opportunity to decide between the Federation and the War Council. But he added, "It is true, the National Catholic War Council has done very good work, but we understand that this body will officially retire as soon as the war work ceases, and then, as far as we know, there will be no other general Catholic agency in the field." In all honesty he contended, "We realize that the future of Federation now hangs in the balance and some other definite and concrete measures must be adopted if Federation is to function in the future as an active, earnest, National Catholic Organization, under the guidance of the Hierarchy." He summarized the letter in a pithy question, "Is there the same need for Federation and its work now as there was when it was established?" Realizing that it was "a very serious question," he begged for the guidance of the Cardinal as to "the most feasible plan for the future."[85]

Haberlin wrote, "His Eminence, Cardinal O'Connell, directs me to say...that he does not know of any reason why the work of Federation should not continue as before." Perhaps not knowing what the Archbishops would decide later, O'Connell continued through his secretary, "His Eminence says that Federation will always be a very strong influence for good for the Church and State, and that there is the same need for Federation today as there always was."[86]

Two months later the "General Committee on Catholic Interests and Affairs /appointed by the Archbishops for the NCWC/ met at... New York, on Friday, May 9," and confirmed O'Connell's statements. After the Committee had decided to request Cardinal Gibbons to invite all the hierarchy to cooperate with its work, the "question of Federation of Catholic Societies...which concerns itself with some of the problems proposed to the general committee by Cardinal Gibbons, was brought to the attention of the Committee by the Chairman," Bishop Muldoon. The Committee agreed to "notify the Federation of Catholic Societies that the General Committee on Catholic Interests and Affairs /NCWC/ had nothing in mind which would conflict with the activities of the Federation and desired the success of the Federation."[87]

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[85] Matre to O'Connell, Chicago, February 28, 1919, O'Connell, AABo; Bulletin, March-April, 1919.

[86] Haberlin to Matre, Boston, March 14, 1919, Haberlin, (copy), AABo.

The Federation was "passing away peacefully"[88] despite such words of encouragement. Actually, the Federation's work was being passed over to the Council. When Matre asked "what attitude Federation should take towards the Smith-Bankhead Educational Bill" which would place "the educational system of the United States under the control of the Secretary of the Interior,"[89] he was told to "consult Right Rev. P. J. Muldoon, Bishop of Rockford, Chairman of the Administrative Committee of the National Catholic War Council," and offer the Federation's services to him.[90]

Dietz still thought two separate organizations existed and offered to represent either "Federation or the War Council in AFL,"[91] but he was told by Federation President Thomas P. Flynn, "If any representative is selected to attend the AFL Convention, he should be selected by the Committee appointed by the recent meeting of Archbishops and Bishops and what is generally known as the National Catholic War Council." Bishop Muldoon was the "Chairman of the War Council also the Committee recently appointed."[92] Dietz finally went to the Convention on his own where he received an endorsement of Christian Democracy and pledges of financial support.[93]

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[87] NCWC Papers, Executive Secretary, ACUA.

[88] Heckenkamp to Dietz, Quincy, May 17, 1919, Dietz, ACB.

[89] Matre to O'Connell, Chicago, May 24, 1919, O'Connell, AABo.

[90] Haberlin to Matre, Boston, May 26, 1919, Haberlin, (copy), AABo.

[91] Dietz to Muldoon, n.p., May 19, 1919, Dietz, (copy), ACB.

[92] Flynn to Dietz, Chicago, June 4, 1919, Dietz, ACB.

False assurances continued to come Federation's way. In July, 1919, a circular letter was sent to the leading proponents of Catholic social service asking them to attend a meeting at the University of Notre Dame to discuss social and charitable work.[94] There the program of the National Catholic Welfare Council [95] was drawn up with the aid of such men as Peter E. Dietz, Frederic Siedenburg, and Frederick Kenkel. Matre wrote O'Connell, "It was the unanimous opinion of all who attended the meeting that lay activity as represented by Federation should be continued."[96] But the AFCS was about ended mainly because, Heckenkamp told Dietz, the "K. of C...made a big hit during the war."[97]

Once more Father Engelen expressed his wrath to Kenkel, "I just saw the publication of Federation. If the bishops are going to do one half of what is said there, I fear, we shall soon have to close shop. Speak of Autocracy!...Are they already preparing for it, by proclaiming in America and England Dr. Ryan is the only one?"[98] However, not even O'Connell had any "idea of what stand the Bishops [might] take in regard to Federation at the meeting" planned for September 24, 1919.[99] Although it was said that both O'Connell and Matre realized that the NCWC would prevail and were glad to pass the Federation over to the newer organization,[100] only the Cardinal hinted that he was aware of the inevitable. He instructed his secretary to pay Boston Federation's "bills up to August [1919] and none thereafter."[101]

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[93] Dietz to Muldoon, n.p., July 3, 1919, Dietz, (copy), ACB.

[94] Muldoon, Schrembs, Glass and Russell to Dietz and Kenkel, Rockford, July 5, 1919, Dietz, ACB; Kenkel, AUND; The Loyolan (Chicago, 1926), p. 113.

[95] The Loyolan, ibid.; NCWC Bulletin, I (August, 1919), 22; Bulletin, September, 1919.

[96] Matre to O'Connell, Chicago, September 10, 1919, O'Connell, AABo.

[97] Heckenkamp to Dietz, Quincy, July 24, 1919, Dietz, ACB.

[98] Engelen to Kenkel, Toledo, August 31, 1919, Kenkel, AUND. Bulletin had carried reports about the Bishops' Committee May-June-July, 1919.

On the other hand, Matre felt there was "no need of establishing a new organization when the old one...could be rejuvenated," nor was there any "reason why the twenty five (*sic*) national bodies and the various branches affiliated with Federation could not be moulded to greater usefulness." As a Fourth Degree Knight Matre stated that he was proud of the KC's performance during the war, but he admitted that "a great part of the funds which enabled the Knights to do their meritorious work" had been contributed by Catholics belonging to other organizations. He suggested then, "If the Knights of Columbus desire to act independently, there could perhaps be found a way by which Federation on the one hand, (representing all societies except the Knights...)-and the Knights..., on the other hand, could cooperate in those activities" requested by the hierarchy. Matre was certain that this could be done "if given the united encouragement and support of *all* the Bishops."[102]

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[99] Haberlin to Matre, Washington, September 17, 1919, Haberlin, (copy), AABo.

[100] Interview.

[101] Cunningham to Haberlin, Boston, October 8, 1919, Haberlin, AABo.

[102] Matre to O'Connell, September 10, 1919, *op. cit.*; *Bulletin*, July, 1918.

Responding to this suggestion, for the first time O'Connell indicated to Matre what the Cardinal believed to be the real situation. Haberlin wrote, "His Eminence says...that, in confidence, he does not feel he ought to conceal from you the fact that there seems to be an impression that Federation of late has not shown the interest manifested in previous years."[103]

Just one week after Haberlin wrote that last letter for the Cardinal to Matre, the bishops of the country met in Washington and discussed important business matters of reconstruction, social action, and other items including the fate of the Federation. On September 24 to 27, 1919 the whole body of the American Hierarchy met for the first time since the Third Plenary Council of which Cardinal Gibbons was the sole survivor. As usual after such a convention, a Pastoral letter to the clergy and the laity of the country was issued, the first in thirty-five years.[104] In this letter the Hierarchy made clear its plans for the future of the Federation; the bishops established the National Catholic Welfare Council, to be made up of all the bishops in the country.

This new Council would consist of five Departments: Education, Press and Literature, Social and Charitable Services, Societies and Lay Activities, Home and Foreign Missions.[105] Once more echoing the desire of the Fathers of the Plenary Council to see [the number of Catholic societies] multiplied and their organization perfected," the Pastoral stated that that wish had been fulfilled. Catholic associations had "increased their usefulness by selecting special lines of activity, and by following these wherever the cause of religion was in need or in peril." Specifically the "aim which inspired the Federation of...Catholic Societies...[was] worthy of the highest commendation." But apparently this was not sufficient because the Pastoral made clear, "It manifests a truly Catholic spirit, and it suggests wider possibilities for good which a more thorough organization will enable us to realize."[106] With these words the Federation ceased to exist as a major organization and became part of the Department of Lay Activities and Societies,[107] National Catholic Welfare Council. The final Bulletin of the AFCS carried this pathetic notation, "Federation's future now rests with our Spiritual Leaders- the Bishops. The thirty national organizations and all other Societies affiliated with the Catholic Federation await their command."[108]

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[103] Haberlin to Matre, September 17, 1919, op. cit.

[104] Lord, Boston, III, 616.

[105] Bulletin, May-June-July, 1919. The Bishops' Program was included in all the final issues of the Bulletin in 1919. Pastoral Letter of the Archbishops and Bishops of the United States Assembled in Conference at the Catholic University of America September, 1919 (Washington, 1920), p. 35. Hereafter cited as Pastoral. This document can be found in many other sources.

The absorption of the Federation by the NCWC would be more understandable had not local federations functioned for some years after the dissolution of the National Federation. Brooklyn, St.

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[106] Pastoral, p. 23.

[107] Bulletin, October-November-December, 1919.

[108] Ibid.

Louis,[109] Toledo,[110] Boston,[111] and New Orleans,[112] were active for some time later, the last being ended only in 1937. Although Dietz offered his services and experience to the NCWC,[113] he was put on a sub-committee so that he would know what was going on.[114]

In the last issue of the Bulletin, October-November-December, 1919, Matre spoke of the meeting of the hierarchy on September 24 and 25 at the Catholic University. He stated that the new National Catholic Welfare Council would be made up of Bishops only and would meet only once a year. However, an interim committee comprised of Archbishops Hanna and Denis Dougherty of Philadelphia, and Bishops Canevin, Muldoon, Russell and Schrembs would carry on the work between sessions. Of these Prelates only Archbishop Dougherty was not familiar to members of the Federation.

This coverage in the Bulletin was typical. Throughout its existence the paper had carried all matters of interest to the members of the Federation. During the war it had publicized the work of the Knights of Columbus as thoroughly as it had the activities of the War Council. It had supported the drive for funds by constant reminders and had made known the activities of the Central Verein in its social work among the soldiers. It seemed fitting, then, that in its final issue the Bulletin should inform its readers of the next phase of Catholic unity.

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[109] Ibid.

[110] Pastoral of Bishop Schrembs, December, 1919, ADT.

[111] Correspondence in AABo until 1923.

[112] Roger Baudier, The Catholic Church in Louisiana (Milwaukee, 1939), p. 518.

[113] Dietz to Muldoon, n.p., October 25, 1919, Dietz, (copy), ACB; Fox, "Dietz, pp. 234-236.

[114] Muldoon to Dietz, Washington, December 15, 1919, Dietz, ACB.

Bishop Schrembs, Chairman of the Department of Lay Organizations, NCWC, wrote to Kenkel on April 29, 1920, that a "National conference of Catholic men's Societies of the United States" was being formed.[115] The meeting was held in Chicago on May 5 and 6 for the purpose of discussing methods and plans for the coordination and unification of the activities of Catholic laymen of the United States. Schrembs wrote to Kenkel:

> a National Catholic Men's Council was formed, and an Executive Board, consisting of twelve members, was elected with power to select its own officers and also to carry into execution the plan of organization agreed upon at that meeting. This conference was nationally representative of the Catholic Men's Organizations and Catholic lay effort throughout the country.

Kenkel was elected a member of the Executive Board.[116]

Of this meeting Heckenkamp wrote to Dietz on May 22, 1920. Heckenkamp was dubious about taxing members of societies who had no voice in things. He saw that the Men's Council would be one big committee, and as an organization man, Heckenkamp lost interest. Thomas Cannon of the Federation thought, according to Heckenkamp, that the solution would be to organize a Catholic Fraternal Congress, and for that purpose he proposed a meeting to be held in Chicago in August.[117]

To the end Heckenkamp opposed the National Council of Catholic

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[115] Washington, Kenkel, AUND.

[116] *Ibid.*, May 15, 1920.

[117] Quincy, Dietz, ACB. The NCCM wanted to establish a $25,000,000 endowment fund.

Men as not democratic enough; and as President of the Western Catholic Union, "he did not feel authorized to pledge"[118] "the $100 per annum assessed national organizations."[119]

Although Kenkel had worked closely with the National Catholic Welfare Council (later Conference), he certainly did not understand what the status of the Federation was in May, 1920. To his inquiry about the next issue of the Bulletin, Heckenkamp wrote rhetorically, "It would appear from present indications that the publication will be suspended. However, this is a matter that will be taken up at the...laymen's meeting in Chicago tomorrow and the day after."[120] But the Welfare Council had no longer any need of the Bulletin, which had been the War Council's first organ of propaganda. Thus it is hard to understand a statement that Father Burke printed in the NCWC Bulletin: "[B]efore the war, there was no national body of Catholics to represent Catholic interests or to speak in defense of Catholic rights."[121]

The permanent structure of the National Catholic Welfare Council resembled very closely the plan of Federation reorganization proposed by Father Dietz in 1916-1917, but the newer union had a firmer organization than its predecessor. National headquarters were established in Washington, D.C., where routine work war carried on by full-time paid personnel. Each department of the NCWC, as well as the national body itself, was under the jurisdiction of a member or members of the hierarchy; but except for the National Councils of Catholic Men and Women, an organized laity as such did not exist.

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[118] Souvenir of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Western Catholic Union (n.p.,n.d.), p. 279.

[119] Dean to Kenkel, Washington, June 26, 1920, Kenkel, AUND; cf. Williams, Catholics in the War, Chapter XVI; NCWC Bulletin, II (November, 1920), 5.

[120] Heckenkamp to Kenkel, Quincy, May 4, 1920, Dietz, ACB, on microfilm, AUND.

[121] NCWC Bulletin, II (October, 1920), 5.

In one respect there was a great similarity to the older Federation: local units of the NCCM and NCCW depended for their success upon the degree of interest exhibited by the local Ordinary. But no longer did lack of funds plague the union; not even the most apathetic bishop was free to refuse to make the collections requested; and, no matter how small the contribution, a steady stream of revenue was assured the new organization.

In the Catholic World for July, 1920, Father Siedenburg tied together the great Catholic federations:

> The federation of Catholic Societies began on the first Pentecost.
>
> . . . .
>
> Federation in itself is not necessarily a synonym for efficiency, for it may err on the side of system and techniques as well as through the want of them.
>
> . . . .
>
> The idea of Catholic federation was carried to a high development when twenty years ago the American Federation of Catholic Societies was organized to affiliate all existing societies on the principle that, though marching apart, they could strike together.
>
> . . . .
>
> In the NCWC we hope to have a federation of many millions dedicated to God and country...-truly a universal, that is a Catholic Federated Society.[122]

By July, 1920, the Federation was completely absorbed by the

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[122] "Federation of Catholic Societies," CXI (July, 1920), 431-444.

Department of Lay Activities and Societies of the National Catholic Welfare Council. Letterheads used by Matre as late as 1919 listed an Executive Board, Advisory Board and the National Committees with their members. Among the members of the Advisory Board Cardinal Farley's name was listed, but the Cardinal had died on September 17, 1918. However, Federation stationery was usually issued in the fall of the year, and officers for 1918 would appear from the fall of 1918 until the fall of 1919. What happened to the Federation is hard to evaluate.

When the National Catholic War Council was formed in 1917, it was created to care for the needs of Catholics in the war effort; and it was expected that it would cease to exist after the war. The Federation had failed to take the initiative at the beginning of the war mainly because of lack of funds. But from the first meeting of Father Burke's War Council, the Federation had indicated its willingness to cooperate with men, publicity, funds - or at least the drive for funds - and any other way possible.

Federation's officers had boasted that the AFCS had sent three representatives to the initial meeting of the NCWC, and it also could claim representation in top-level positions even after the NCWC reorganized. However, the crux of the matter seems to rest in what the Federation was. Men who acted as the Federation's delegates were also members of another national organization, and it is difficult to determine whether these men put the Federation or their affiliated organization first in the NCWC meetings. Except for Muldoon, few of the Federation members of the NCWC corresponded with either Matre or Dietz after the War Council was organized.

For a period after the war the evidence seems to indicate that Cardinal O'Connell was deceiving Matre. Such an assessment is easily reached by hindsight. But the Cardinal was in a position where he could see the value of both the Federation and the Council, and he seemed to understand that the Council was considered a temporary arrangement. Having in Boston an extremely successful Federation, O'Connell would have been repudiating his own organization if he dissolved the National Federation. He seemed sincere in encouraging the Federation, possibly thinking the organization would start with new enthusiasm after the war.

The Archbishops exhibited a rather complete knowledge of the Federation when in their Pastoral they stated that a better organization was needed. However, the same Archbishops had approved the plan of reorganization for the Federation along diocesan lines, but there had been insufficient time after the adoption of the new Constitution to get the plan under way before the War Council began attracting full attention to itself. Certainly the National Councils of Catholic Men and Women were not federations of societies because the basis for organization was not limited to societies.

Both Matre and Dietz contradicted themselves about the future of the Federation. Dietz seemed more aware of the pitiful state of the organization, but even he stated that in the Federation he hoped to put his full plan of social service into action. Matre, on the other hand, acknowledged that the Federation was replete with weaknesses, but until almost the very end he refused to admit defeat. His last statement in the Bulletin for October-November-December, 1919, which he put into block form, announced that the bishops had taken over the Federation and that the AFCS "awaited their commands."

Until almost the last breath, the Federation continued the work it had started. It kept the members informed about the leading issues of the day including birth control, woman suffrage, prohibition, labor problems, euthanasia, movie censorship, juvenile delinquency, the war problems, the peace conference, etc. Local Federations, like Boston and Montgomery County, Ohio, protested against unfair legislation; and all locals were asked to watch the prohibition laws of their states to safeguard the use of sacramental wine. Matre alerted O'Connell about all significant Congressional legislation.

The Bulletin announced Federation's support of the Knights of Columbus in the war effort even though the KC had never joined the AFCS as a national organization. It likewise published the woes of the German-Americans and endorsed the work done for the soldiers during the war by the Central Verein. When the Archbishops became the National Catholic War Council, the Bulletin not only printed in full the program of the NCWC, but it also indicated that the Federation would be behind the program wholeheartedly. And although the New York Times carried a number of articles between

September, 1915, and 1917 about the anti-America actions of Irish-Americans and German-Americans, the Bulletin gave no hint of such actions.

Although both Dietz and Matre had agreed in 1916 and 1917 that the Federation should be reorganized, and both realized that the best reorganization would be achieved only under the diocesan plan, both had hopes that the Federation would survive and flourish after the change. In Milwaukee, Boston, New Orleans and other dioceses the diocesan Federations had been comparatively successful because the bishops had been extremely interested in the organization. However, after 1918, for the third time in the fifty years covered by the federation movement the society once more became the chief mode of unity among Catholics. And the loose union among Catholics under the National Councils of Catholic Men and Women, while designed to include total representation, actually touched fewer people than the Federation.

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSION

In the fifty years from 1870 until 1920 three distinct types of Catholic unity were attempted, the union, the congress and the federation, each one having a definite influence on the Federation of Catholic Societies movement. Because in 1870 there were still few Catholic societies of any stature, the trend towards federation in the original Union was slight. But according to the General Constitution and the Constitutions of the New Jersey and Boston Unions, the society was an important basic unit for the successful Unioh.

Several contemporary articles indicated that the National Catholic Union had been established although it was short-lived probably for lack of enthusiasm on the part of the local bishops. Shea told the First Catholic Congress that the attempt at a National Union had failed of its original purpose, but evidence shows that some local Unions lasted far into the twentieth century. Insofar as the Catholic Unions were loose federations of the affiliated members, they could be termed the beginners of the Federation of Catholic Societies.

While the Catholic Unions faded from prominence, societies increased in number and importance. The next suggestion that individual societies cooperate with other organizations antedated the First Catholic Congress in 1889, but no important effort at cooperation developed out of the suggestion. In planning the Congress of 1889, Henry Brownson might have speeded federation if he had followed more closely the manner in which the European Congresses selected delegates for their meetings - by means of representation through Catholic societies.

The Congresses helped the federation movement only in that the resolutions supported the wishes of the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore: that the number of societies increase, and that there be concert of action. A precedent was established at the Second Congress when several national organizations held their annual meetings in connection with the Congress. The decline of the Congress movement once more threw emphasis upon the society as a means of greater Catholic unity.

After eight years the federation movement reached a climax in the formation of the American Federation of Catholic Societies in 1901. The impetus came from the societies themselves, the first notable attempt being the societies in Pittsburgh which began a Diocesan Council of an American Federation of Catholic Societies in 1890. But the efforts at the same time of the Irish Catholic Benevolent Union, the Central Verein, the Catholic Young Men's National Union and other societies who sought means for better cooperation among societies added needed volume to the growing demand for a national organization.

The Catholic Union and the American Federation of Catholic Societies had many features in common. Both had been formed to attain greater unity among Catholics in defense of the Church; both had officers and an Executive Council or Board; both excluded partisan politics; both were lay groups guided by spiritual directors or bishops; both followed a similar order of business in their meetings; both had the means of keeping the members informed; both insisted upon the autonomy of their affiliates remaining intact; both accepted individuals as well as societies to membership. They differed in one major structural matter: the Unions were formed on the diocesan level first but subsequently tried to unite into a national organization; the Federation formed first on a national scale, although local or diocesan groups were in existence before the national organization held its first Convention.

In many respects the Federation resembled the Congresses, too. The annual Conventions were nothing but a congress of Catholic societies represented through their delegates. The manner of conducting the Conventions was almost identical with the earlier Congresses: opening Mass, public meetings, private meetings, mass meeting, speeches, discussions and resolutions. They differed, of course, because the business of the Federation continued from year to year, while each Congress was complete in itself.

In discussing matters of current interest from the Catholic standpoint, each type of unity contributed to the formation of a Catholic public opinion. All, too, were notable, and even noble, demonstrations of the strength of sheer numbers in defense of the Church at a time when Catholics were considered second-rate citizens. And because misinformed Protestants hurled the charge of "priest-ridden" against Catholics, each type of unity tended to overcome that accusation as large gatherings of Catholics included both clergy and laity sitting side by side in the friendliest attitudes.

The very size of the Federation in a sense borrowed trouble; and the first ten years were spent in adjustments to organizational needs. By 1911, it appeared that the worst obstacles of structure had been overcome, and the AFCS undertook to initiate a Social Service Commission. But even until 1916 the nationality groups failed to be entirely satisfied with the concessions that the Federation made to them, and changes were made in the Constitution in both 1914 and 1916.

The advent of World War I put a sudden halt to the application of the latest Constitution of 1916. Father Burke's Catholic War Council, formed in 1917, incorporated many of the features of the diocesan plan of federation, and consequently both the Federation and the National Catholic War Council were aiming at the same type of unity. The latter, however, did not make the society the sole basis for membership; it wanted total Catholic participation using the parish as the foundation.

But the Federation had made a mark in its short life. It informed its members through the Catholic press, the Conventions, the Bulletin and Newsletters of all current issues, not necessarily limiting its observations to Catholic matters. In the first decade the Federation discussed the Philippine situation, Friar land question, socialism, liberalism, Modernism, Catholic and secular education, Indian and Negro missions, Catholic Church Extension Society, labor and labor unions, Sunday observance and many other subjects. However, it did nothing towards changing existing conditions or helping bad situations except by making resolutions. In a few cases, the Federation appealed to the President, the Congress or state legislatures to obtain recognition of certain conditions, but any actual influence of these actions is open to question.

Both the Catholic and secular press published accounts of the plans and achievements of the organization, and these were no doubt read by many people. But how many subscribers there were to the Bulletin is not known. Each affiliated society and officers in those societies received the Bulletin; and after the inauguration of the Associate Membership, individuals received subscriptions. However, neither Matre nor Dietz preserved the subscription lists to show how widely read the organ was.

After the Social Service Commission became active, the topics treated by that department were largely concerned with labor and its problems. However, matters of wider interest received attention, too. Divorce, juvenile delinquency, birth control, euthanasia and social service work frequently found their way into the columns of the Bulletin. Both the Commission and the Federation supplied good speakers for the Conventions, local meetings and for a lecture series.

Although the hierarchy made no collective statement about the Federation until 1917, from Cardinal Gibbons down each bishop knew of the organization; and Cardinal Gibbons had asked the Federation to cooperate with him on several occasions in publicizing the Society for the Preservation of the Faith among Indian Children, in pursuing the Congo question and combatting the Valentine Garb Bill. Prelates like McFaul, Messmer, Maes, Muldoon, Busch, Elder and O'Connell were very enthusiastic about the Federation and could see great possibilities in the continuation of its activities.

To some extent, and again one hard to estimate, the Federation assisted in the Americanization process. For the first time in the history of the Church in the United States large numbers of German-Americans and Irish-Americans belonged to the same organization. Although some of these might have been second or third generation Americans, many still had ties to the culture and language of their ancestors. The Central Verein continued its membership in the Federation even though the AFCS attempted to attract local societies of national organizations, a constant source of annoyance to the German union. Polish and Bohemian societies joined the Federation, too, but the French and Italians remained aloof. The mingling of the different nationalities in the Federation was a source of great satisfaction to Messmer and McFaul in particular.

McFaul constantly insisted that the Federation was a lay organization, and it was intended to be just that. However, the movement floundered until the Bishops became interested in it. From the very first meeting in Philadelphia, and through all the organizational meetings, priests were active in getting the organization under way. On all the committees priests served, and bishops interested in promoting the Federation formed an Advisory Board. The AFCS was lay insofar as it represented societies of laymen and undertook some matters which were outside the realm of the clergy, such as warring against legislation involving school taxes. Then, too, McFaul wanted it to remain a lay federation to avoid its being identified as a hierarchical movement.

Both the Proceedings and the Bulletin of the Federation are too sanguine in their reports of the meetings and business of the organization. One must search through contemporary literature to discover that friction existed within the AFCS from its earliest days. The first tensions arose from the disagreements over representation. Later the biggest problems emanated from the clashes between Matre and Dietz. But neither of the Federation publications ever kept secret the state of the finances of the organization; the AFCS really never had any money.

To this complexity of circumstances the ultimate dissolution of the Federation can be attributed. It was always a loose federation of affiliated societies, almost bending over backward to avoid interfering with the autonomy of member societies. There were never central headquarters; the interim work between Conventions was carried on by the National Secretary and/or the Secretary of the Social Service Commission. As Father Ambrose Gallagher, O. S. B., pointed out, the Federation did not have the executive power to enforce its regulations. Consequently, when the two secretaries found themselves in disagreement, tensions were inevitable.

At the end of the war the bishops apparently decided to choose between the Federation and the Catholic War (later Welfare) Council. The latter had been formed for the duration of the war only; and, therefore, Matre was justified in thinking that the AFCS would take over the NCWC as an entity after the war. Since the complete discussions of the Archbishops' Meetings are not always found in the Minutes, one can arrive at only one conclusion for the hierarchy's choice: the bishops preferred to work with the organization they had formed rather than to adjust to one they had only recently helped to reorganize.

There is an obvious reason for the seemingly limited influence of the Federation: the leaders were too few. A study of the names prominent for the whole twenty years of the existence of the AFCS reveals a repetition of the same names year after year until the owner died. Among the hierarchy the bishops in fairly regular attendance included Cardinal O'Connell, Archbishops Bonzano, Elder, Messmer, Glennon and Hanna; Bishops McFaul, Muldoon, Schrembs, Maes, Canevin, Busch and Carroll. Of the priests Fathers Dietz, Wynne, Lavelle, Ketcham, Splaine and occasionally Ryan were familiar to the majority of the delegates. The laymen's names were more numerous: Matre, Minahan, Gonner, Frey, Heckenkamp, Smith, Flynn, Whalen, Denechaud, Coller, Schulte, Cannon, Duffy, Immekus and a few others recur time and time again.

These clergymen and laymen were also the speakers at Conventions and the contributors to the publications of the Federation. They served on the Executive and Advisory Boards and on the special committees. When representatives for the Federation were chosen, these same names would be found on the roster. But the men did not form an exclusive clique which barred others from leadership. The provisional officers, Fries and O'Rourke, were voted out of office in the first Convention because the majority feared that they would not prove satisfactory, but the Germans failed in their attempt later to defeat Minahan.

The leaders in the Federation represented German societies and Irish societies and the first American Federation of Catholic Societies of Pittsburgh. They were experienced organization men who knew what could make or break a large union of societies. Where so many leaders were accumulated in one federation, there was apparently very little friction. These same men obviously represented their own organizations when the National Catholic War Council was formed and could offer their knowledge and experience to the war affort.

Executive meetings of the Federation continued until 1919, and Matre continued the Bulletin until the end of that year. As soon as the Executive Board decided to postpone the annual Convention for 1918, interest in the organization waned; and the financial situation became worse than ever. And probably no one was greatly surprised to note in the Pastoral that the Federation had been a noble experiment, but that it needed better organization. As was customary, the new organization took place under the hierarchy.

When the Catholic Unions first organized in 1871, the American hierarchy was involved in the arduous pioneer task of building and maintaining churches and schools for an ever increasing Catholic population. Consequently, the Catholic Unions lived or died according to the interest given by the busy local bishop. Cardinal Gibbons later exhibited little enthusiasm for the Catholic Congresses, but Archbishop Ireland supported the undertakings of which Gibbons reported glowingly to Rome. Still later, the hierarchy made no decision collectively about the Federation until 1917, when the Archbishops in their annual meeting decided to bring the organization under the bishops.

Except for the First Catholic Congress, not one of the lay movements wanted to exclude the hierarchy. And even the lay promoters of the First Congress sought advice and permission from the hierarchy before taking action. When the Federation ultimately decided to reorganize along diocesan lines, over fifty dioceses showed little or no interest in the organization. At the same time, eighty-nine per cent of the priests in the country were ignoring appeals for full support of the war effort.

The groundwork for future lay and episcopal activity was laid by the Federation in many areas. Matre was an early proponent of movie censorship and prepared the way for the Legion of Decency fifteen years after the last Convention. The Social Service Commission's Newsletter was a first attempt at a Catholic news service such as conducted today by the National Catholic Welfare Conference. Montgomery County, Ohio's, Sociability Committee conducted a program very similar to the Catholic Youth Organization's social department, and for the same purpose: to supply the opportunity for Catholic young people to meet and thereby lessen the danger of mixed marriages.

In addition, the Federation supported by endorsement the Catholic Press Association, the International Federation of Catholic Alumnae, the Catholic Educational Association, the Laymen's Retreat League and other Catholic national organizations. It attempted to form a Young Men's Catholic Association, but that never succeeded on the national level although local groups were fairly successful.

From 1901 until 1918 the Federation of Catholic Societies was an important element in the history of the Catholic Church in the United States. It filled a void left vacant by the deaths of such prominent laymen as Orestes Brownson and James McMaster and provided a background for the most articulate Catholics, both lay and clerical, of the period. It helped to pave the way for coordinated social action and laid the groundwork for other services to be provided through the NCWC or by the hierarchy. It proved that loyalty to the Church was not incompatible with loyalty to country and helped to alleviate somewhat bigotry and misunderstanding. It indicated, above all, that Catholicism transcends nationality and provincialism.

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Archives of the Diocese of Richmond - on microfilm at ACUA and AUND
- Correspondence of Bishop John Keane
- Correspondence of Bishop Denis O'Connell

Archives of the Diocese of Toledo
- Pastoral Letters of Bishop Joseph Schrembs

Archives of Harvard University
- Correspondence of Theodore Roosevelt - Theodore Roosevelt Collection - on microfilm

Archives of the University of Notre Dame
- Correspondence and Papers of the American Federation of Catholic Societies - on microfilm or photostats
- Correspondence of Henry J. Brownson
- Correspondence of Orestes A. Brownson
- Correspondence and Papers of Reverend John Cavanaugh, C.S.C.
- Correspondence of Richard Clarke
- Correspondence and Papers of Charles I. Denechaud - on microfilm
- Papers of James Hagerty
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- Correspondence and Papers of Frederick Kenkel
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